Daily Report

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Turkmen Gas to Ukraine Affects Russian Gas to Azerbaijan

PM2802105994 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 94 p 1

[Unattributed, untitled report]

[Text] The termination of deliveries of Turkmen gas to Ukraine has prompted a cut in the supply of gas to Azerbaijan by Russia, across whose territory the fuel passes in transit. The Russian side justifies its actions by claiming that it is impossible to guarantee the requisite volume of gas supplies owing to a sharp drop of pressure in the pipelines.

Paper Summarizes Results of Defense Ministers Meeting

PM2802151194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 94 p 1

[Colonel Gennadiy Miranovich report: "Collective Security Treaty Must Work. This Was Theme of Routine Session of CIS Defense Ministers Council"]

[Text] As we have already reported, the session was held 24-25 February. Delegations from the military departments of 11 countries, the general secretary of the Collective Security Council of the CIS member states, and representatives of the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the legislature, and the Border Troops Command participated in it. A number of organizational questions concerning the structure of the Defense Ministers Council, the manning of the Staff for the Coordination of Military Cooperation, and the preparations to celebrate the 50th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War were examined, as well as problems of the use of the collective peacemaking forces and of military-technical cooperation.

It was pointed out at the session that the countries which signed the Collective Security Treaty have at last gotten a real opportunity to commence its practical implementation. As is known, since Belarus, Azerbaijan, and Georgia subscribed to the treaty, the composition of the Defense Ministers Council virtually corresponds to the composition of the Collective Security Council, which includes, in addition to the heads of the states which signed the treaty and the foreign ministers, the leaders of these states' military departments.

The two-day gathering of the military departments' leaders, held under the chairmanship of Colonel General Boris Gromov, Russian deputy minister of defense, ended with the signing of a number of documents. They include the Statute on the Defense Ministers Council of the CIS Member States, which defines its functions, structure, and composition and the organization of its activity under the new conditions. A decision was adopted on the composition of the Military Cooperation Coordination Staff and on the principles of its manning. As KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reported (the issue for 23 February), the staff will be manned on a coalition basis, and it will have a top limit of 250 members. At the same time the Russian contingent will be the largest—120 people. The session participants' balanced approach to problems of collective security enabled them to reach agreement on additional measures to stabilize the situation on the Tajik-Afghan section of the border. A decision was also adopted on measures to prepare to celebrate the 50th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 1 Mar

LD0103072694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0558 GMT 1 Mar 94

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—The announcement of a political and economic amnesty by the Russian Federation's State Duma at the end of February and the likely impact of the decision on the development of the situation in the country are under discussion in today's Russian newspapers.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI recalls that "the leaders of parliamentary groups who voted for a political amnesty explained the need for it by striving to maintain civil peace".

However, "it appears evident that the release of the 'political prisoners' not just stimulate the activities of the hardline opposition—it will entail the emergence of quite a number of organisations whose activities would be quite capable of destabilisiing the situation in the country".

In addition, the situation is also being compounded by the fact that the Lefortovo investigation ward inmates and forces supporting them have no representation in parliament, for well-known reasons. "This is precisely why their struggle for the division of political space may become particularly fierce".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA frontpages an analytical article under the headline "The Opposition Has Got Competitors From Lefortovo. The President Begins To Regroup Forces".

Recalling the events of the October last year in Moscow, the newspaper points out that "the developments connected with the release of the 'Oktobrists' have vividly shown the extent of contradictions that tear the presidential team asunder".

"Of course, the State Duma decision about an amnesty hardly gave pleasure to the president. However, there is every indication that those presidential team members who believed that the 'Oktobrists' are much more dangerous in the symbolical image of martyrs than in the image of real political figures gained the upper hand".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on former Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy: "As a politician, he undoubtedly enjoys a considerable prestige. But one should take into account that he became the leader of the entire opposition and a real alternative to Boris Yeltsin by virtue of his high position, in the extreme situation of a coup d'etat". "At present, however, opposition politicians (Zhirinovsky,

Zyuganov and Baburin) should view him, rather, as a potential competitor: for, according to people close to Rutskoy, he intends not only to return to politics but also participate in the future presidential elections".

TRUD on a probable development of events in Russia following the amnesty.

The newspaper believes that "if the political struggle unfolds in uncivilised forms, those factions which voted for an amnesty on the plea for a quest for civil peace would find themselves in a rather difficult position.

"This primarily applies to the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, whose votes enabled the duma to pass the decision on the release of the 'Lefortovo inmates'.

"It is not ruled out that in the event of a flare-up of extremism, the parliament will have to take some additional measures if it comes to realise the danger posed to the country by such a development of events".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on the same subject:

"It is already evident to everyone that there can be no question of any 'civilised forms' of political struggle. "Moscow, which became somewhat calmer recently, will again be divided into zones of influence while the president loses time irretrievably and together with it the last levers of power".

PRAVDA carries an interview with State Duma Speaker Ivan Rybkin.

In response to a question from the newspaper's correspondent about the amnesty, Rybkin pointed out that the meaning of the amnesty "is to give a chance to those who took a false step to turn a new leaf at this difficult and critical time. The purpose is to consolidate society so as to pull the country out of chaos through common efforts".

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA runs an interview with former speaker of the Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov who was released from Lefortovo under the amnesty.

Khasbulatov touched upon some provisions of the president's message to the Federal Assembly, pointing out that the message consists mainly of what he, Khasbulatov, once said at congresses of people's deputies.

"This means that the presidential team who prepared the message accepted the Supreme Soviet evaluations. Surprising is something else. Those people are unable to accomplish this task by virtue of their being oriented to the destruction of Russia, to the conduct of war against their own people".

PRAVDA carries an interview with Belarusian parliament chief Meczeslaw Hryb who was elected to the post at the end of January. Sharing his vision of how to take the republic's economy out of the crisis, he said it is essential, first of all, to restore economic ties with "ex-Soviet republics, particularly with Russia". "Only an economic union and a common monetary system can save the situation as I pointed out on more than one occasion," Hryb said.

Kozyrev on Bosnia, Middle East, 'Spy Scandal'

LD2802221594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2143 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—It is necessary that Russia, the United States and other countries pool efforts in order to find a political settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina where the peace process must be continued and given a new impetus, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said.

Speaking at a meeting with Russian and foreign journalists in Moscow on Monday, Kozyrev said that the Foreign Ministry is dealing with the Middle East "as much as with Bosnia. We maintain direct contacts with the PLO, Yasir 'Arafat and Israel." He said the Russian side plans to take constructive steps in the near future. Particularly, a special envoy of the Russian president, Igor Ivanov, will fly to the Middle East "within several hours," he added.

As for "today's incident with the planes in Bosnia," "we have no information about their identification so far. All three warring factions have planes of which type. They were shot down in the area where fighting is going on between Croats and Moslems. But in any event this falls within the recently adopted U.N. Security Council resolutions which ensure the 'no-fly' zone ban, for which Russia had also called for," the Russian foreign minister said.

Moscow is against using aviation. There is a proposal to ban the use of aviation in all was zones, Kozyrev stressed. He said Russia was one of the initiators of the resolution on 'no-fly' zones. "In this case we are for the resolution to be observed in the strictest possible way and any side which embarks on the path of their violation should be ready to face the severest consequences," he said.

He emphasised that the recent events in Bosnia show that the way to peace in the region is not in escalation of violence and the use of aviation, but in political settlement.

Kozyrev called for a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher to discuss the "entire spectrum of problems." he said The idea has been discussed by telephone several times and now the sides are trying the set a convenient date.

Touching upon the spy scandal in the United States, Kozyrev said that from the very beginning of the "spy history" the policy of President Boris Yeltsin, the Russian Government and the Foreign Ministry was aimed at avoiding the "politicisation or ideologisation" of the problem.

The Russian side believes it "lies within the competence of the security services" of the two countries. "As far as I know, the services maintain regular contacts and are able to settle the issue on their own," Kozyrev said.

"Unfortunately, the United States has expelled (Aleksandr) Lysenko who was an official representative of (Russian) intelligence bodies in Washington in accordance with an agreement between the governments of the two countries. Today the U.S. Embassy in Moscow was informed that the Russian side wants his American counterpart to leave the country," the Minister said.

The Russian side did not want this. "We had to resort to this 'reciprocity,'" he added. He stressed that both countries should do away with this practice "the sooner, the better."

Kozyrev believes the incident will not affect U.S.-Russian relations.

Discusses Events With Warren Christopher

LD0103124694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1106 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] As Russia's Foreign Ministry reported to Interfax, on the initiative of the American side, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher had a telephone talk on Monday [28 February] evening.

The parties discussed the Bosnian settlement and the situation in the Middle East. In particular, they stressed the need to strictly for strict fulfillment of the UN Security Council resolutions by all Bosnian parties. Moscow and Washington intend to encourage striving for compromise solutions in the spirit of goodwill.

Given the latest events in the Middle East, the importance was recognized of preserving the negotiating process and strengthening security guarantees for the population in the Gaza Strip and Jericho with an appropriate international presence.

U.S. Embassy Counselor Ordered To Leave Moscow

LD2802163894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1614 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Andrey Palariya and Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Moscow, February 28 (TASS)—CIA agent James Morris working as a counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow was declared persona non grata on Monday, following the expulsion of a Russian diplomat in Washington.

A U.S. diplomat was summoned to the Department of North America of the Russian Foreign Ministry earlier today to receive the following statement: "The Russian Foreign Ministry is lodging a protest against illegal activities of the American side with regard to an official representative of the Russian foreign intelligence service who has been working in Washington since the summer of 1993 by mutual consent" of Russia and the United States, Ministry spokesman Grigoriy Karasin said.

"In this situation, we have to declare, on the basis of reciprocity, a CIA officer in Moscow persona non grata and demand that he leave the Russian Federation," the statement said.

"The Russian Foreign Ministry proceeds from the fact that there are special channels for settling issues arising on both sides in connection with intelligence or counterintelligence activity. These channels can and should be engaged. This will allow (us) to find a mutually acceptable way out from the current situation and avoid its politicisation," the statement said.

The U.S. Embassy has been also presented with a diplomatic note.

ITAR-TASS has learnt that Morris will leave Russia within seven days.

More U.S. Staffer's Expulsion

MK0103091094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 1 Mar 94 p 1

[Vladimir Abarinov report under the "Intelligence" rubric: "Russia Strikes Back. CIA Station Chief in Moscow Declared Persona Non Grata on a 'Reciprocal Basis'"]

[Text] Yesterday, the Russian Foreign Ministry made a representation to the counselor envoy of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow in connection with the deportation of Aleksandr Lysenko, official representative of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS] in Washington. "In this situation," the note says, "we are forced to declare the CIA representative in Moscow persona non grata and to request that he leave the Russian Federation on a reciprocal basis. The Russian Foreign Ministry proceeds from the assumption that there are special channels for settling matters that may arise with regard to the intelligence and counterintelligence activity of the two sides. These channels can and should be put in operation. This will make it possible to find a mutually acceptable way out of the current situation and to avoid its politicization." When asked by your SEGODNYA correspondent to specify, Grigoriy Karasin, director of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry press and information department, said that the person in question was James L. Morris, counselor at the U.S. Embassy.

Morris was given seven days to leave the country, same as Lysenko. It has transpired from other sources that some time ago the secret services of Russia and the United States were going to reveal to each other one representative working under diplomatic cover each, although, of course, without the right to publish their names. Aleksandr Lysenko assumed his job in Washington last summer and has no relation to Ames. In Moscow, his deportation has been perceived as a purely political action, and there have been no attempts to conceal the fact that actions taken against Morris are a retaliatory measure.

According to that same source, there have been no agreements on the mutual cessation of intelligence activity between the Russian and U.S. special services. There is, however, an agreement on forgoing "uncivilized methods" of recruitment. Nonetheless, the Russian side has evidence proving that the U.S. special services have been using just these methods. The Russian services, the source claims, are not interested in arousing passions over the Ames case and, on their part, would not like to make cases involving U.S. agents public. For the time being, CIA Director Woolsey "is carrying on considerately," an approach that Moscow interprets as showing a similar desire. Russian professionals have already made clear that they stand for continuing cooperation with their American counterparts, but they believe that the cooperation may only be based "on the common perception of national interests." At the same time, the source emphasized, there are influential forces in the United States wishing "to impose a time-out" on President Clinton so as to take a closer look at what is going on in Russia.

The decision regarding Morris was made personally by the president. According to our information, the dismissal of Golushko from the post of Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS] director does not have any bearing on the Ames case. At the same time, according to unconfirmed reports, arrests have been made at the FCS central staff and the Federal Agency of Government Communications and Information.

U.S. Firm Thinks Ames Stole MRX Technology

LD2802165994 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0832 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Kolesnichenko]

[Text] New York, 28 Feb—The American corporation "Gerardo International", which works on developing secret weapons systems for the Pentagon, thinks that Aldrich Ames, arrested last week on suspicion of spying for the former USSR and then for Russia, could have supplied Moscow with secrets of the production of a new invention of the company—the so-called "MRX" defense technology. The president of the corporation, Neil Gerardo, expressed his anxiety at this circumstance in a letter to Congressman John Mica (Republican, Florida), which has been made available to the ITAR-TASS office in New York.

The document notes in particular that the company's management became concerned when one of its staff in Belgium reported the details of a Reuter interview with LDRP [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in which the latter declared for the first time that Russia had an ultra-secret offensive weapon called "Elipton." The description of this mysterious weapon given by Zhirinovskiy turned out to be similar to the "MRX" defense technology developed in the "Gerardo International" laboratories.

"Our company, like many other institutions that are developing high-technology weapons systems, knew of and

welcomed the actions of the U.S. Government's intelligence departments in monitoring our lines of communication, because this met the aims of national security," the letter pointed out. "Today our anxiety has increased even more after the arrest of Aldrich Ames on suspicion of supplying secret information to Moscow. We in 'Gerardo International' have done everything possible to keep the 'MRX' production methods a secret. However, after the events that have taken place we fear that the technologies of this system have been 'blown'. We call on Congress to carry out a thorough investigation of this urgent matter. We should like to know how many people, and precisely who, have access to information on the 'MRX' production technologies."

The ITAR-TASS correspondent called a representative of "Gerardo International," but he flatly refused to comment on the letter, saying that as yet he had nothing to add to the above version.

Security Official on Ramifications of Ames Case

LD2802175794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1649 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] A high-ranking officer of the Russian special service stressed that certain circles in the U.S.A. intended to make a pause in the bilateral relations due to the case of Ameses in order to examine what was happening in Russia. [sentence as received]

According to the same source, there was definitive pressure exercised on U.S. President Bill Clinton and his Aide Strobe Talbott in this direction.

Commenting on possible response of the U.S. to expulsion of U.S. Minister-Counsellor James Morris from Russia, the high-ranking officer told Interfax that "escalation was undesirable. However, Interfax it is to take place it will be bilateral." He said Moscow was unwilling to surrender its positions.

He also emphasized that, in his opinion, the lay off of the Federal Intelligence Service's Director General, Nikolay Golushko, had nothing to do with the Ameses.

Former Agent Interviewed on Ames Case

BR2802155794 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 26 Feb 94 p 17

[Interview with Russian General Kalugin, "former KGB agent in the United States," by Fiammetta Cucurnia in Moscow; date not given: "The KGB is Certain: 'Someone Betrayed Ames'"]

[Text] Moscow—The Russian superspy among the top CIA officials was betrayed by an undercover mole working for Washington among the former KGB's leadership. However, Ames was the last of the Mohicans—a leftover who miraculously survived the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the former Soviet secret services. This is Oleg Kalugin's opinion, a former KGB man who no doubt is knowledgeable on the subject of spies, not only in his capacity as one of Moscow's former agents in the United States, but also because from 1973 to 1980 he was the head of the KGB's counterintelligence section.

[Cucurnia] Do you really believe, General Kalugin, that someone here in Moscow, perhaps among Primakov's deputies, betrayed Ames?

[Kalugin] It is difficult to name or point my finger at anyone in particular. However, I certainly cannot rule out the possibility that someone within our services passed on the information to the Americans, also because, clearly, only very few people, at the highest level within our services, have any knowledge of these matters. As soon as you consider this business you are immediately led to think that there might be a traitor among this very small group of people.

[Cucurnia] You do not seem to be all that surprised by what has happened.

[Kalugin] On the contrary, I was rather surprised by it because, frankly speaking, I believed that our network of agents in the West had been definitively routed. You must take into account that, between 1980 and 1991, the KGB experienced the most difficult period in its history, not only due to the fact that its officials were fleeing to the West, but also due to the many arrests among those of our agents who had gone over to work for the United States.

[Cucurnia] Yet the Ames case shows that some important outposts survived.

[Kalugin] As I was telling you, I was the first to be surprised. Let us not forget, however, that Ames was apparently recruited in 1985, when perestroyka was in its infancy, and the radical change in United States-Soviet relations was still to come. Clearly, Ames was one of the last remnants of an epoch that is now coming to a close.

[Cucurnia] Do you think that Gorbachev first, and later Yeltsin, knew that they could rely on such a high-placed agent?

[Kalugin] When I worked for the intelligence service, we used to make regular reports to Brezhnev on our agents in the West. We always indicated the duties they fulfilled and their rank, but we never mentioned any names. I believe this practice has not changed. It makes no sense to fill the president's head with names which, in themselves, mean nothing to him.

[Cucurnia] However, over the last few years the United States and Russia have repeatedly exchanged friendly declarations. Do you think that it is proper to use the citizens of another country for intelligence purposes, or perhaps, as Clinton says, it would be best to limit recruitment to your own fellow nationals?

[Kalugin] Let us leave hypocrisy to one side. The United States has never renounced espionage, much less so in Russia. I see no reason why Russia should. However, the fact remains that, unlike what used to happen in the past, nowadays intelligence operations do not pursue subversive objectives. Nobody today can assert that the CIA wants to weaken Yeltsin's position. Rather, the contrary may be

true. Espionage, however, has always existed and always will, even between friendly countries.

'No Real Evidence' Ames Spied for Russia

LD0103132794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1231 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—Experts from Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service regard the publication of information about Aldrich Ames' alleged involvement in the transfer of technology to Russia for the development of a supersecret weapon as a drive launched by U.S. secret services with a view to attracting the public attention to the "Ames case".

The reason for this and other actions, the Russian experts believe, is the more understandable as, according to data available with them, U.S. secret services so far have no real evidence of Mr. Ames' involvement in spying for Russia.

'Growing Spy Mania' Seen in U.S. After Ames Case

LD2802204294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1925 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service (FIS) has started an investigation to conjecture the possible effects of the case of the Ames couple, accused of spying for the Soviet Union and subsequently Russia, a source close to the FIS said.

The source told Interfax on Monday that one of the aims of the investigation was to reveal sources of possible information leakage from the FIS.

"I don't think we have any 'moles' or 'rats' in our service, but extra caution will do us no harm," he said.

He declined to either confirm or deny that the Ameses had been Soviet and Russian intelligence agents.

"The investigation has nothing to do with the apprehensions that somebody penetrated our intelligence files and found the Ameses there," the source said.

He said the West was bound to make the most of the Ames case to disorganize Russian intelligence and its networks abroad. He also said the CIA and other Western intelligence services are paying closer attention to Russia, and that there exists "a growing spy mania in the United States, comparable to that of the Cold War times."

Ames Case Linked to Russian Diplomacy in Yugoslavia

LD2802205494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1925 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] The success achieved by the Russian diplomacy in former Yugoslavia is one of the reasons for the clamor growing in the USA about the case of the Ameses couple who allegedly spied for Moscow, according to Americans, Interfax learned from the Russian competent bodies.

Another reason for this is the intention by certain circles in the USA to impose a "time-out" in its relations with Russia and watch the developments in Moscow.

As is the established procedure, Russia's competent bodies do not intend to comment whether the Ameses worked for Russia. This is explained by the fact that Moscow would not like to influence the trial which will be soon held. Moscow believes that the court will have to toil enough, because there is no substantial evidence against the Ameses, according to the US press.

The Russian competent bodies categorically disagree with the point of view widely shared in the USA that America has "special powers" and may carry out intelligence activities against Russia, while Russia cannot do so. Moscow and Washington have never signed an agreement to give up intelligence activities against each other. Moreover, the CIA does not even try to hide the fact that Russia remains one of its priorities.

Interfax also learned that the Russian competent bodies were amazed at the deportation of a Russian diplomat, Aleksandr Lysenko, who had been introduced to the American side as a representative of the Russian intelligence, according to an agreement between the Russian secret service and the CIA. Lysenko arrived in the USA last June and, as a matter of fact, was only being put in the know of developments.

If the CIA delegation composed of two persons tried to represent the deportation as "a forced victim" with the aim to "loosen the situation," then Moscow believes that Lysenko was made a "scapegoat."

Regarding this action by the US Department of State as purely political, Moscow decided to declare the advisor of the US embassy in Moscow, James L. Morris, persona non grata as a measure of "mutual payment." The decision was made on the level of the Russian president.

Moscow believes that the deportation of J. Morris will be a full stop in the disagreement, and the staff of the Russian embassy in Washington will not be reduced by a single person. Otherwise, Moscow's reaction would be prompt. However, the escalation of this issue was not a choice of Russia.

According to Interfax information, the decision by the US Department of State followed the arrival in Moscow of a CIA delegation composed of two persons. The CIA officials tried to force the Russian secret services to recognize their involvement in the Ameses' case by voluntarily recalling the Russian diplomat who allegedly worked with the Ameses couple.

The American officials also insisted on Moscow's taking no measures in response and making no comments to the press. This was made condition to continuing the mutually profitable cooperation between the Russian and US secret services.

All these demands were regarded as unacceptable in Moscow.

At the same time, the Russian competent bodies were not in the least interested in fanning "spy mania." They have evidence of several dozens attempts to recruit Russian

citizens by the US secret service. In a number of cases, Americans used "illicit methods" such as blackmail which is not in use by the Russian intelligence. However, Moscow did not make a fuss using this as a pretext, like the USA did it with the Ameses' case. Nor the Russian secret service put emphasis on other cases when Russian citizens collaborating with the CIA and the FBI were arrested and brought to trial.

The Russian secret service understands that the Ameses' case was a serious psychological blow to the CIA, but it does not want to gloat at it.

Moscow believes that the CIA internal security should not be made issue of interstate relations, and the further developments will entirely depend on the American side.

Commentary Views Case

LD0103110594 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0953 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Commentary by ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Romantsov]

[Text] New York, 1 Mar— After arresting the CIA employee Aldrich Ames and his wife on a charge of spying for Russia a few days ago, the Washington authorities might have concentrated their attention on finding the answer to this question: how can it be that somebody managed to steal secrets from Langley, the holy of holies of U.S. special services? That, incidentally, is what the administration is being strongly advised to do—and by those who themselves headed the special services in the past.

But Washington decided that it was far more important to "punish" Moscow as quickly as possible (Moscow, mind you, and not Ames or those in the CIA who allowed this failure to occur). They announced the expulsion of the Russian diplomat, Aleksandr Lysenko. Lysenko was asked to leave purely because of the position he held at the Russian embassy (he was accredited to Washington as an intelligence officer and dealt with cooperation between the two countries' special services), and not because he was in any way implicated in the "Ames affair". No accusations have been levelled against him.

Is it any wonder, after this, that James Morris, an American diplomat who worked as a counsellor at the U.S. embassy in Moscow, now has to leave the Russian capital far earlier than he intended to? He has been given seven days to leave. However, to be more precise, Morris was not a diplomat, but a CIA officer holding a diplomatic passport. One would rather not use expressions like "an eye for an eye" or "a tooth for a tooth," but it would have been incomprehensible for the American demarche to go unanswered, to go without "reciprocation".

Washington is implying that it is now time to put this entire incident behind us. White House Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers, expressing regret about the expulsion of Morris, said: "We do not expect any further diplomatic moves." Vice President Albert Gore stressed that relations between the United States and Russia "ought not to be determined by such incidents."

This is both heartening and encouraging. It is, indeed, time to close the curtain on this affair, but once the fly-wheel has been started, it is not always easy to stop it. Certain people in the United States, including a number of congressmen, are exploiting the "Ames affair" to say that Russia should not be assisted and that a closer look should be taken at its "behavior." Certain people are already portraying Russia's peacekeeping mission in Bosnia, which helped to stop the bloodshed, as an "imperialist scheme."

One is reminded of the euphoria that there was in Washington over the fact that neither ideological rivalry nor confrontation would any longer determine relations between the two greatest powers on earth. Moscow was just as happy about this, but different judgements are now appearing more and more frequently here. Here's a quote from the journal 'Nation': "The rivalry is continuing. Now and in the future Moscow will play the role of geopolitical superpower, whose interests, history and character run counter to the interests of the United States."

Naturally, the interests of the United States and Russia, as two sovereign states, can and will diverge, but there is obviously no point in seeking out and then enlarging the cracks. Instead one should seek and build on points of contact. The hullabaloo which has been raised over the "Ames affair" is hardly likely to facilitate this.

Overview of 'Spy Scandal'

LD2802210194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2013 GMT 28 Feb 94

["Commentary" by ITAR-TASS correspondents Andrey Palaria and Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—The spy scandal that has broken out after the arrest of a senior CIA agent on charges of spying for the Soviet Union—and then for Russia—for nearly a decade has led to a traditional "exchange of figures" between Moscow and Washington.

The United States has expelled Russian foreign intelligence service official Aleksandr Lysenko who worked as a counselor of the Russian Embassy in Washington. Russia retaliated on Monday by expelling his CIA counterpart James Morris who worked under diplomatic cover in Moscow.

The arrest of Aldrich Ames, 52, and his wife is not the first in the history of intelligence. The world knows many such affairs. However lately Russia and the U.S. have tried to hush up such incidents, to say nothing about bringing them to inter-state level. But this "biggest spy scandal," as the Ames affair has been dubbed in the U.S., did not pass unnoticed and attracted the attention of U.S. President Bill Clinton who described it as a "very serious case."

"The psychological drama" caused by the failure in the Central Intelligence Agency was followed by an urgent trip

of CIA officials to Moscow to "settle scores" and "persuade" the Russian side to "admit its guilt" in the Ames affair by ordering Lysenko to leave the U.S. and keep the whole incident away from the press.

However, the Russian side made it clear that such issues should be settled by respective intelligence services of the two countries which must stick to certain rules in their activity. Otherwise would run counter to the principles of partnership between the Russian and American intelligence services which are actively cooperating in fighting illegal drug trafficking, terrorism and organised crime.

However, the Ames affair has shown that this partnership is still far from being ideal. Perhaps, as far as the accusations against Aldrich are far from being true.

Indeed, American intelligence bodies do not have proof of his guilt so far, according to the U.S. press. American newspapers have picked up again the once-forgotten image of "the Russian bear" and other Russian "intrigues" threatening national security of the United States. Some speculations border on the absurd as their authors are trying to persuade American tax payers that they are supporting Russian spies.

Many in Moscow are surprised by such open politicisation of the Ames affair. Observers do not rule out the possibility that this can be connected with the success of Russian diplomacy in Bosnian settlement and the desire of certain American circles to get a time- out in relations between Russia and America. Even more so because many members of the U.S. Administration are calling for support for Russian reform and assistance to Russia.

Western experts, many of whom are professional intelligence officers, believe that Russia has sharply stepped up intelligence activity in the United States lately. However, no one can deny that after the collapse of the Soviet Union Western secret services, including the American CIA, have boosted their work in ex-Soviet republics, primarily Russia.

Examples abound. Those include the arrest of a top-level agent and several attempts to recruit high-ranking Russian officials. Last year alone, 20 people were arrested in Russia on charges of espionage. But, unlike the Ames affair, none of these cases caused any demarches or protests at the inter-state level.

Recent U.S. moves can be interpreted in different ways. This is the prerogative of specialists, but even a dilettante understands that Russia has as much right to conduct intelligence activity in America as the U.S. has in Russia. At least until Russian Foreign Intelligence Service Chief Yevgeniy Primakov's call for discontinuing spying against each other is answered.

Parallels Drawn Between Ames, Powers Cases

PM0103094 94 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Feb 94 p 7

[Vladimir Kuznechevskiy article: "The Powers Syndrome? On the Arrest of Russian Agents in the United States"]

[Text] The incident over the arrest in the United States of two Russian foreign intelligence agents, Aldrich Ames and his wife Maria Casas, has alarmed the public in that country. No wonder. The 52-year old Ames worked in the most sensitive posts in the CIA for over 30 years and has vast experience of overseas work. In 1983-1985 he was head of the CIA's Soviet Counterintelligence Section and was one of the most trusted men in the state. His attractive 40-year-old wife, who was born in Colombia, had the most brilliant career prospects at Georgetown University.

They could be called a model family unit of a healthy U.S. society but suddenly, overnight, they have become Russian spies. Yet they had good incomes. Ames was paid around $100,000 a year (around $9,000 a month). This is enough to make the ordinary patriotic American's head spin. And when it became known that Russian intelligence had paid this married couple around $1.5 million since 1985, the sense of outrage became universal: What kind of Russian treachery is this? We give them aid and they spend millions on espionage activity in our country!

It seems that the U.S. President was also in some confusion: Ames was placed under surveillance [blokirovan] last October but it was not until Monday, 21 February 1994, that Bill Clinton allowed the case to be made public.

There is no limit to the U.S. press' indignation these days. However, let us leave emotions aside and try to delve a little deeper.

The Ames case has been given the kind of political overtones which automatically bring to mind a story dating back almost 33 years.

In 1960 the United States and the USSR took the first real steps toward ending the cold war, thanks to the efforts of President Dwight Eisenhower and Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Agreement was reached to hold a summit meeting of the four great powers in Paris after which Eisenhower was to pay a visit to Moscow. However, the hawks in the military-industrial complexes and the CIA and the KGB put the most powerful pressure on their top leaders and wrecked what could have been an historic agreement.

On 1 May 1960 the CIA sent a U-2 spy plane into Soviet air space, it was shot down near Sverdlovsk, and its pilot, Frances Garry Powers, was taken prisoner. Khrushchev kept the fact of this arrest secret and, according to the classical laws of political intrigue, lured Eisenhower into a trap by forcing him to deny that this flight had taken place. At the Paris summit he demanded public apologies from the U.S. President and this, of course, was a humiliation for Eisenhower. And without even waiting for a reply from his colleague he exclaimed in great emotion: "Eisenhower is no longer a welcome guest in the Soviet Union!" The U.S. President was about to explain that he had come to Paris for serious talks and wanted the conference to move on to the discussion of relevant questions but the summit was already wrecked by then. Khrushchev ostentatiously walked out of the hall.

That was, of course, a political mistake. The Soviet premier had given way to the hawks in his own country, people who in general were more interested in their own position in the hierarchy of power, a position falsely concealed by a concern for the country's security and well being, rather than in peaceful living conditions for the USSR.

Relations between the United States and the USSR deteriorated sharply. Soon after that there was the Caribbean crisis, which almost plunged us all into World War III.

It seems to me that something similar is going on right now. Except that this time certain forces in the United States would like to give Khrushchev's role to Bill Clinton. And Powers' role to Aldrich Ames.

The U.S. mass media have been trying to meticulously calculate what damage the Russian spy's activity has caused the States. What can you say here? Probably the damage is considerable. But intelligence is a two-day business. In recent years the world press and the Russian press have written quite a lot about the fact that U.S. intelligence agents are virtually wandering freely around Russia's vast open spaces. And what escape is there these days from the reports in the Moscow press that the exposure of Ames was not a consequence of the couple's extravagant spending, as the ordinary American is persistently reminded by his press, but resulted from a leak of information from the highest levels of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (in normal parlance that means that a U.S. intelligence operative of Ames' stature is operating in Moscow, too).

But what about the damage that has been done to our country's economy by our native traitors, as it were? For example, the activity of Oleg Penkovskiy, who was recruited by the Western special services, really rocked the USSR's defense system in the past. And how can you assess the damage inflicted on our country by Oleg Gordiyevskiy and Arkadiy Shevchenko, who were recruited by those same special services and who held very high posts in the Soviet hierarchy? And what about Vladimir Rezun (Viktor Suvorov) or General Lyalin? The list could go on.

No, the matter is of course not one of economic damage and Russia's treachery.

In the U.S. media, clearly, there are circles which could theoretically be categorized as hawks (we have them in our country, too) and which were merely seeking an appropriate pretext to exaggerate this affair. But the real reasons are clear to see. Not everyone liked Viktor Chernomyrdin's new government. The question was: To support him or not?

The second reason was clearly Moscow's position on the Sarajevo crisis. Essentially the Russian president's initiative in this conflict thwarted the hawks' attempt to resolve the "Serbian question" with the help of air strikes. Russia's political weight in the international arena rose suddenly and very sharply. It proved very difficult to endure this and assess it not as one would like but as it really is. So they decided to use the Ames' affair to try to stop this process of Moscow's return to the great powers' club if it seemed likely that the process would succeed.

I think, however, that no good will come of these attempts. The U.S. President, like his Russian counterpart, is showing quite a well balanced approach here.

There is a striking difference between how the Ames affair is being covered in the U.S. press and in official statements.

For example, it is reported that the note handed to Russian Charge d'Affaires V. Chkhikvishvili in Washington contains nothing which would indicate the likelihood of a complication of relations between the United States and Russia and there are no calls for any specific actions. Furthermore, it has emerged that yesterday President Clinton turned down the calls by some U.S. legislators for an immediate reduction of U.S. aid to Russia in connection with the Ames affair. Pointing to the gravity of "the espionage affair," he stressed that cooperation with Russia in restricting the proliferation of nuclear weapons and support for democracy and reforms in Russia are important U.S. strategic interests.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev yesterday urged that the "Ames problem" should not be politicized.

All this inspires the hope that political relations between Russia and the United States will not be aggravated this time and that a new Caribbean crisis will not loom on the horizon.

Yeltsin Adviser Says Government Regrets Incident in Bosnia

PA2802130394 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0915 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Moscow, 28 Feb (EFE)—Anatoliy Krasikov, chief of the Russian Presidency's information service, says that Russia "regrets" the incident which took place today in northwestern Bosnia where four Serbian airplanes were downed by two U.S. F-16's.

"We regret the incident because Russia is working toward a peaceful solution of the conflict in former Yugoslavia," the ranking official said.

Krasikov added that the Russian Government, through either the Foreign Ministry or Defense Ministry, will issue an official statement on the incident.

Latest Developments Viewed

LD2802133794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1313 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Paris/Rome/Jakarta February 28 TASS—Bosnian Serbs, backed by helicopters and armoured personnel carriers, launched an attack Monday morning against the Bosnian Muslim town of Maglaj.

The town besieged by Serbian and Croatian units is under heavy gun fire, the FRANCE-PRESSE news agency reported today.

The American aircraft carrier "Saratoga" with 70 war planes aboard has cut short her visit to Trieste in Italy and is heading towards the cost of former Yugoslavia, the Italian news agency AGI reported from Rome today.

The agency said it was connected with the morning shooting down of four Bosnian Serbs' aircraft by NATO.

Indonesia, currently chairing the Non-Alignment Movement, demanded an urgent session of the UN Security Council to lift the embargo on weapons deliveries to Bosnian Muslims, TASS reported from Jakarta today.

Serbs Deny Involvement in Air Attack Incident

LD2802152794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1510 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Zagreb February 28 TASS—NATO fighters shot down four warplanes belonging to Bosnian Serbs over Bosnia-Herzegovina on Monday [28 February].

The planes were downed near Novi Travnik after they entered the restricted "no-fly" zone in Bosnia-Herzegovina and refused to obey NATO planes' orders to land. The planes raided a military factory at Novi Travnik.

U.S. [as received] Protection Forces commander in former Yugoslavia Jean Cot said the incident will have no consequences for his units in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croatian radio quoted the Croatian Defence Ministry as saying that the planes which attacked the plant had flown from southwest, while other sources claimed that they had been sent from the air base in Banja Luka.

The Serbs are denying their involvement in the incident, saying that the military airport in Banja Luka is controlled by United Nations and the planes could not take off without being noticed. An official of the local press centre in Banja Luka said the planes- attackers did not have anything to do with the Bosnian Serb air force.

Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias and his British counterpart Douglas Hurd said on Monday that the incident will not affect the peace process in Bosnia.

Hurd who arrived in Athens for talks on Sunday said the reports about the incident are not quite clear, adding that the NATO planes acted in accordance with the regulations approved by the U.N. Security Council for "no-fly zones."

Hurd said he had contacted Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin by telephone to inform him about his position and expressed the hope that he will be able to speak with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev shortly.

Foreign Affairs Ministry Statement on Bosnia

LD2802163294 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1345 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Moscow, 28 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—A statement by Russia's Foreign Affairs Ministry was circulated here today which said:

"According to the information we have so far, aircraft guarding the no-fly zone in Bosnia-Herzegovina air space this moring shot down four planes that had violated the zone and bombed the area at the town of Travnik, that is, in the zone of armed clashes between Muslims and Croats.

Furthermore, it is alleged that these planes could belong to Bosnian Serbs, though the latter's military command denies this. The circumstances surrounding the incident are now being clarified.

Whichever side carried out the military sortie over Bosnia-Herzegovina, violating the resolutions of the UN Security Council relating to the no-fly zone, it carries all the responsiblity for what has happened.

Ministry 'Implicitly' Approves NATO Action in Bosnia

AU2802180794 Paris AFP in English 1759 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Moscow, Feb 28 (AFP)—Russia implicitly approved the downing of four Bosnian Serb aircraft by NATO warplanes Monday, saying whoever flew over Bosnia in violation of a UN vote carried the full responsibility for what happened.

The comment came in a Foreign Ministry statement after Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic arrived here Monday for talks with Russian officials hours after NATO aircraft shot down four military planes believed to belong to the Bosnian Serb forces.

"Whatever party (Serb, Moslem or Croat) flew over Bosnia in violation of United Nations Security Council resolutions, it must carry the full responsibility for what happened," the statement said.

The Ministry said it continued to analyse the situation, implying that the downing could be criticized at a later date.

A high-ranking Russian diplomat earlier told the INTERFAX news agency that the Ministry had asked the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia to explain the shooting down of the four Galeb planes by US F-16 fighter jets in a pre-dawn strike Monday.

He added that if UNPROFOR information proves to be true, "the Bosnian Serbs have violated one of the UN Security Council resolutions banning any miltary flights over Bosnia-Herzegovina."

The resolution, adopted last year and backed by Russia, has repeatedly been violated by Bosnia's three warring factions—Serbs, Moslems and Croats, the diplomat said.

Kozyrev Statement on Situation in Bosnia

LD2802184094 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 94

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] How does Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev assess the situation in Bosnia now?

[Begin Kozyrev recording] We are against the use of aircraft, and we have a proposal that the use of aircraft should be forbidden in the strictest terms in all conflict areas. In particular, we were among the initiators of the adoption of the resolution on a flight-free zone, i.e. on the nonuse of aircraft in Bosnia. Hence, whichever side used these aircraft, it has to proceed from the assumption that full responsibility lies with the violator of, in this case, the Security Council resolution. Certainly this episode is yet more evidence that the road in Bosnia should lie not in the escalation of violence, in the use of aviation etc., but only in looking for a political settlement. [end recording]

Churkin Says 'Much To Be Clarified'

LD2802192194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1910 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—There is much to be clarified about the incident with four planes which bombed the town of Travnik in central Bosnia and were brought down by NATO air forces, which exercised control over the no-fly zone in the air space of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Vitaliy Churkin, deputy Russian foreign minister, said on Monday evening.

According to him, "It is not clear so far, what sort of planes were shot down".

As soon as the first report about the incident was received, the Russian Foreign Ministry got in touch with the Serbian leadership, he told a press conference held in connection with a visit of a delegation of NATO officials to Moscow.

The Serbian leaders were "utterly bewildered" as they could not understand, why the Serbian planes should bomb Travnik, the site of Croat-Moslem clashes, Churkin said.

"Whatever party should have made the military air raid in Bosnia in violation of the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council on the no-fly zone, it bears the full measure of responsibility for what has happened," he said. Military planes of the belligerents must not fly over Bosnia, he emphasized.

"If all the reported circumstances should be corroborated, it will be evident that the regime of the no-fly zone established by a resolution of the UN Security Council was violated—with all the resultant consequences.

Further Churkin Comment

LD2802205094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1925 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] At a press conference in Moscow tonight, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin described the consultations between the Russian Foreign Ministry and NATO experts as the first working event making Russia's joining "Partnership for Peace" possible.

According to Churkin, the meeting withdrew all remaining ambiguities and questions as to Russia's joining "Partnership for Peace." "The question was how to make the best use of the cooperation with the North Atlantic alliance envisioned by the program," Churkin was quoted as saying. Today Russia sees no ambiguities and obstacles for the program to function at a larger scale, Churkin added.

The deputy minister said it was necessary to sign a framework document and agree on specific areas of cooperation for Russia to join "Partnership for Peace." "Now Russia needs to decide who and when will sign the framework document," the Russian diplomat said.

Commenting on the combat jets shot down this morning, Churkin said the Bosnian government had been in great amazement when the Russian Foreign Ministry asked it for explanations. "Bosnian planes had no need to bomb Travnik as it is an area of clashes between Croatians and Moslems," Churkin was quoted as saying. However, "whoever it was who flew above Bosnia, he violated a resolution of the UN Security Council and bears the entire responsibility for what happened," the deputy minister noted.

Karadzic Meets Churkin, Praises Russian Role

LD2802231794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2239 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Moscow, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Following talks with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin this evening, President of the Serb Republic Radovan Karadzic stated that their talks focused on the continuation of efforts to restore peace in Bosnia.

At the moment it is impossible to give any more details since this process is still under way, Karadzic said.

The president of the Serb Republic arrived in Moscow this evening and immediately met Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin. Their tete-a-tete meeting lasted for 45 minutes.

"The very fact that we are in Russia and that the Russian army is in our country already means a lot," Karadzic said following talks with Churkin. "There are a few countries in the world that are impartial as regards the Bosnian conflict. Russia is impartial in every respect, and it is also a friendly country,, Karadzic stressed. He went on to say that these were traditional relations and "an old friendship."

Speaking about the Russian initiative for the demilitarization of Sarajevo, Karadzic said that it saved the world many troubles. "We wish the same path to be pursued

further. It seems to me that Russia has chosen the right way to contribute to the resolution of conflicts in Bosnia," Karadzic concluded.

The president of the Serb Republic is to continue talks with Russian officials tomorrow. He is expected to meet Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

Meets With Kozyrev

AU0103132694 Paris AFP in English 1302 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] Moscow, March 1 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev announced Tuesday [1 March] they had agreed to open the airport in the besieged Bosnian city of Tuzla for shipments of humanitarian aid.

Kozyrev and Karadzic told reporters that Russian "observers" would be deployed at the airport to guarantee it was used for delivery of aid including a Russian humanitarian aid shipment to be flown there soon.

"Russian observers... will guarantee control under UNPROFOR and make sure the airport is used for humanitarian and not military deliveries," Kozyrev told reporters following two hours of talks with the Bosnian Serb leader.

UNPROFOR is the United Nations Protection Force.

Karadzic said his meeting with Kozyrev was "not easy" and the Russian minister described the talks as "difficult."

Neither gave a date for the opening of the airport at Tuzla, but Kozyrev said a shipment of humanitarian aid from Russia would be flown into the airport "soon."

The city, including the airport, is surrounded by Bosnian Serb forces.

The airport has been closed for more than a year and pressure for it to be opened was stepped up at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) summit in January when Britain and France called for its reopening.

Meanwhile UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali's special envoy in the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, visited Tuzla airport early Tuesday, his spokesman said in Zagreb.

It was Akashi's first visit to Tuzla, where he arrived from the Croatian port of Split early Tuesday.

Spokesman Michael Williams said, "He'll be looking at the situation with regard to the airport and it remains our strong hope that the airport can be opened soon for humanitarian purposes."

"He has made a tour of the airfield this morning, and this afternoon he'll be meeting with local and regional authorities," Williams said.

"At the end of the afternoon he'll be visiting a refugee center in Tuzla."

Williams said that in Tuzla itself the situation remained relatively calm.

A total of 14 shells hit the airfield Monday, of which about half fell close to the main building.

Further on Meeting

LD0103111194 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1041 GMT 1 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 1 March—A meeting between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, who arrived in Moscow on Monday night at Russia's invitation, has begun in a mansion of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Andrey Kozyrev told Russian and foreign journalists on Monday night at the Foreign Ministry that at present it is necessary for Russia, the United States, and other states to unite efforts in the search for a political settlement in Bosnia. There is only one way toward peace in Bosnia—not through escalation of violence and using air power, but through a joint search for a political solution, he said.

Now, following the initiative of the Russian president, it is important not to lose momentum, tackle the problems of setting up safety zones, and work on the implementation of what has already been agreed with regard to stabilization of the situation in the region, the minister stressed.

Bosnian Muslims Oppose Deployment of Troops

LD0103100094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0820 GMT 1 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations, 1 Mar— Bosnian Muslims are against the deployment of Russian troops in Sarajevo and are appealing to the UN Security Council to "postpone" the deployment of an additional Russian contingent in Bosnia. This is stated in a letter from Alia Izetbegovic, the Bosnian president, which was forwarded to the current president of the UN Security Council on Monday [28 February]. This document, which has not been officially issued yet, was obtained by an Itar-Tass correspondent.

"The behavior of the Russian soldiers after their arrival in Sarajevo has annoyed UN [words indistinct] in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since their arrival they have displayed their support for the aggressor. Attitudes which remind us of certain episodes in the past have been strongly demonstrated. Our people regard this as a provocation which could cause an incident," Izetbegovic pointed out.

"We do not endorse the arrival of additional Russian forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina," he stressed. "We believe that any such decision should be put off."

West Rejects Bosnia Summit as Too Favorable to Moscow

MK0103110094 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 1 Mar 94 p 3

[Mikhail Shchipanov report under the "Our Commentary" rubric: "Moscow Is a Port of Five Presidents"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin's kind invitation to his colleagues—the presidents of the great powers—to get together somewhere (in Moscow, for instance) to discuss peace settlement efforts in the former Yugoslavia has been up in the air so far. The initiative by Moscow, which was itself customarily invited to take part in other states' ambitious projects, has drawn a reserved reaction. One that borders on suspicion. History knows various sorts of congresses that were summoned by the great of this world to take stock of the results of wars and revolutions. Recently, however, such multilateral summits have taken place mainly under the UN Security Council aegis. But this time Yeltsin has invited world leaders to transcend the cozy framework of the United Nations, to say nothing of NATO, in order to organize a great-power get-together.

For the West, this initiative indeed is reminiscent of a frightening specter of a reversal in Russian policy, the renaissance of A. Gromyko's fancy idea that none of the world's political issues could be resolved without Moscow. In the past few years, the world seemed to have learned to do without Moscow, which is why the latter's claims to a role in the establishment of the world order, if read between lines, have been recognized as excessive. This is particularly surprising against the backdrop of behind-the-scenes promises that Russia will attend political debates of the Group of Seven on a permanent basis, if not become a full member of the elite world club. Apparently, it was still important that Russia was invited to acquire the status of a great power. This time around it seems as if Russia were inviting them. Dances to which ladies invite gentlemen are clearly not in vogue in the West.

How is it that the Americans and their allies are trying to circumvent Russia's proposal without arousing much fuss? There are a number of options. First of all, the West would try to speed up the emerging rapprochement between the Muslims and the Croats, that is, between participants in the conflict on whom Russia has only a limited influence. Hence, the idea of a comprehensive conference that would resolve all the problems under a package deal will die a natural death. Also possible are "disappointing" incidents, such as yet another spy scandal, that bring progress in Russian-American relations to naught. Finally, the idea of such a conference, if adopted by NATO, would have forced the North Atlantic bloc drastically to adjust its previously adopted line of conduct based on strength. Apparently, this would have deprived the Western alliance of the freedom of balancing on the verge of a power solution. That is to say, a solution the specter of which has ensured the West's complete domination in the Balkans for a number of months. Measures based on the use of force, such as yesterday's downing of Serb aircraft, will entirely exclude Russia from the Balkan concert. On the contrary, a conference would only have fixed its place in the future system of security guarantees for the post- Yugoslav countries.

Pros, Cons of Association With NATO Viewed

PM2802134594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 94 p 4

[Article by Sergey Karaganov, deputy director of the Russian Academy of Sciences Europe Institute, under the "Opinion" rubric: "We Must Be the First at NATO's Doors"]

[Text] A political game has begun in Europe over the expansion of NATO. We have won the first round, but we are starting to lose the second round. And if we do not display boldness and initiative, we will lose the whole game. But in that case, those to blame for the failure will have to be sought not only in Brussels and Washington, but also in Moscow.

Having a fairly good knowledge of NATO and of the process of how a decision is adopted in the alliance, I do not believe that its expansion may significantly increase the almost nonexistent military threat from the West. Although, of course, as a result of the NATO and Russian borders being brought closer together, the positions of people who are used to seeing each other as potential adversariess will be strengthened, and mutual suspicion will grow.

But the main negative consequences will be of a political and even economic nature. Russian positions will be weakened in the bargaining over access to Western markets and the acquisition of investments. But the most important thing of all is that Russia's isolation will increase. We have no chance, in the foreseeable future, of joining the European Community, whose members will soon comprise the majority of European states. Even joining the free trade zone around the EC may even prove problematic for Russia—not only because of the possible opposition of the West, fearing for its markets, but also because of protectionist trends in Russian policy. Protectionism is inevitable in political terms, and is even partially necessary in order to boost our nation's industry, but, given the principle of reciprocity in opening markets, it will make access to West European markets more difficult for us.

The CSCE—the only major political organization in Europe where Russia is fully represented—is becoming relatively weakering and most likely will not be able to become the nucleus of a European security system.

The expansion of NATO will weaken the CSCE still further. But the main thing is that the most promising channel of our cooperation with the West for the next few years—the security sphere—will be sealed off to a considerable extent. No matter what "compensation"—for the expansion of the alliance—our NATO neighbors may propose for us, they will most likely not be able to avert the reinforcement of Russian's military-political and political isolation. Russia will find itself to a significant extent

"sealed up," and forced to expend forces and resources to break loose from the disadvantageous position, it will be doomed to be the disturber of European peace. Europe as well as Russia will suffer the damage.

In September-October of last year, it seemed that it would not p]rove possible to halt the mechanism of the admittance of four central and East European countries to NATO. But in the end, Russia's cooperation with forces in NATO countries which do not want the alliance to be expanded seems to have averted the inevitable. NATO adopted the idea of "Partnership for Peace." Moscow welcomed it. The "Partnership for Peace" sets forth four sometimes contradictory elements. First of all, there is NATO's attempt to gain time, look around, and conceal its lack of a long-term strategy. Second, the desire to satisfy both Russia on the one hand, and the countries of central and East Europe on the other hand, at the same time. Third, the attempt to block the entry of countries into NATO, placing them for an indefinite time in the "political antechamber." Fourth, there is a possible way of slowly assimilating these countries in NATO by establishing close cooperation between their military structures [voyennyye mashiny].

Russia has three options for responsible [otvetstvennyy] actions. The first is not to join. The second is to formally join, but in reality not to display any special initiative.

There are a lot of arguments in favor of the first and second options: We cannot tune our military organizational development to NATO standards, and "partnership" will restrict our freedom of action.

But it must be clearly understood that our neighbors in central and East Europe will force their way through this door. Plans for cooperation are already being drawn up there and resources are being found. And if we remain apart, then in a year or two we will simply not have any arguments left for opposition. They will say to us: You have been given the chance. You have not taken it. So you have simply not made any effort toward common European military-political integration. Do not hinder those who are striving for it, and after about four years, NATO will be expanded.

But there is also a third option—the only one which can block the expansion of the bloc. Russia should state: The expansion of the bloc may be a way of creating a collective security system in Europe, and, if its organizational development follows this path, it makes it its aim to join NATO ahead of the countries of central and East Europe. At the same time, Russia must put forward a military and military-political cooperation program which would enable us, and not our Western partners, to speak of insufficient will for cooperation. Only then will we have real and weighty arguments to counteract the expansion of NATO without Russia.

I foresee the counterarguments: Cooperation is costly, and conditions will be imposed on us. That is true, but the country is faced with the strategic threat of political and military-political isolation, and such cooperation is the most effective way of averting it. Tens of billions of rubles spent now would save tens of billions of dollars in the very near future.

There is another counterargument: What if NATO accepts the challenge and says—join! I would answer: This is impossible in practical terms, but if it does happen, this means that Russia will achieve one of is basic foreign policy aims, and a collective security system will start being built in Europe.

Russia Supports UN Observers in Middle East

LD2802185894 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1400 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, the Hebron massacre that cost the lives of dozens of Palestinians and wounded hundreds of others in the al-Ibrahimi Mosque on 25 February dealt a severe blow to the peace process in the Middle East. It is still not clear who committed this crime. The Israeli Government has set up a committee to look into the incident. However, it is totally clear that the Gaza-Jericho self-rule agreements are in danger after a lot of effort had been put into drawing them up. The PLO-Israeli talks were cut on all levels. The new round of Arab-Israeli talks in Washington that were due to take place today did not start. The delegations from Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan decided to discuss the implications of the current situation first; radical Arabs are demanding revenge. Tension in the occupied territories has increased, but it seems doubtful that terrorists will succeed in torpedoing the peace proces because this process is extremely important. [passage omitted]

In 'Arafat's opinion, international forces have to be called in to the protect the Palestinians. Moscow believes this to be a good idea. Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev stated that it was possible to send international observers to the area under UN supervision or the joint supervision of the United States and Russia. [passage omitted]

Pledge To Withdraw Troops From Estonia by 31 Aug Denied

LD2802215894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] The allegations that Russia has pledged to withdraw its troops from Estonia before August 31st this year "are unfounded," Alexander Udaltsov, RF Foreign Ministry official in charge of "the Baltic direction," told Interfax on Monday [28 February].

As he said, Russia "had indeed advanced such an initiative, basing on some of Estonia's promises, and stipulated certain conditions." "None of them have been met by the Estonian side, and therefore the issue of final dates for the withdrawal of troops remains open," the diplomat said.

Nevertheless, he noted, the Russian delegation is going to join the next round of Russian-Estonian talks, which opens in Tallinn on Tuesday, "in a constructive mood, and in the hope of reaching mutually-acceptable solutions to all the key issues."

Udaltsov confirmed that Russia continues to think it necessary to prepare for signing a basic treaty on troop withdrawal "in a package" with an agreement on social guarantees for Russian military retirees living in Estonia.

According to the diplomat, between Russia and Estonia "there are virtually no unresolved problems as regards the basic treaty." However, Estonia's stand on a number of fundamental issues concerning the destiny of military retirees is unacceptable to Russia. We hope that Tallinn will advance some new proposals to help resolve the situation," Udaltsov said.

Russian Official Comments

WS2802191194 Tallinn BNS in English 1648 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Moscow, Feb 28, BNS—It is still premature at present to say that Russian troops will leave Estonia by Aug. 31, a high-ranking Russian foreign ministry official said in a telephone interview with BNS today. The diplomat also referred to his country having no formal obligation to pull its units out from Estonia by that date.

Alexandr Udaltsev, official in charge of relations with the Baltics at the Russian Foreign Ministry, said Russia during the talks between the two countries had considered "the possibility to shift forward" the deadline for the troop withdrawal after Estonia, in his words, had failed to abide by certain promises it had given earlier.

"The issue, in particular, was about Estonia going to provide 23 million U.S. dollars for the building of houses for the officers to be repatriated," Udaltsev said, adding that there had also been a number of other issues the deadline was linked to. "Not a single one of these has been fulfilled by the Estonian side," he said.

"In such a situation, naturally, the (final) date of the withdrawal is, at least, under question," he said.

He reminded that Russia had taken upon itself no obligation with respect to the pullout deadline.

"The topic of money, to our regret, no longer arises, since the Estonian party has shown itself as not being serious about it," he said.

Udaltsev said the main problem that bars way to an agreement on Russian troop withdrawal from Estonia now is the issue of signing a package of accords. Russia is insisting that agreements on social security guarantees for retired Russian military and their family members in Estonia be signed in one single package with the army pullout agreement.

"This is our initial position," Udaltsev said. He claimed that such a position on the issue was in compliance with rulings by international organizations, which demand the withdrawal of Russian units from the Baltics to take place "speedily, orderly, and according to the respective agreements." "Our partners in the Baltics for some reason or another are emphasizing only the first of these words, somehow forgetting about the two others," Udaltsev said.

The Russian diplomat said it was crucial that at the current round of talks, scheduled to begin in Tallinn Tuesday [1 March], "all attention would be focused" on social security guarantees for the some 11,000 retired Russian military and 30,000 members of their families, remaining in Estonia.

Udaltsev was pessimistic about the possibility that Estonia would grant permanent resident's status to these people, saying he feared the Baltic country was unlikely to "take a constructive approach" to the issue.

As another issue Russia views is preventing progress toward a solution of the topic of the withdrawal, Udaltsev mentioned reciprocal claims over property and damages. The diplomat said his country suggested a "zero option," when Russia would give up claims for compensation for the property it leaves behind in Estonia, while Estonia would not claim anything for damages inflicted by the Russian army on its soil. The two parties so far have failed to agree on a mutually acceptable formulation for the issue, he said.

Udaltsev's remarks today come as an indication that Russia is going to cancel the Aug. 31, 1994, deadline it suggested for the withdrawal of its troops from Estonia at negotiations late last year. Russia then said it would pull its remaining about 2,500 troops from Estonia by that date, but soon declined to present to Estonia a detailed timetable for the withdrawal. Russia said failure at the talks to settle the issue of social welfare and guarantees for military pensioners was the reason of the delay.

Estonia at the beginning of this year declared agreeing with the troop withdrawal deadline offered by Russia.

Talks With G-7 End With Commitment to Cooperation

LD2802194294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1649 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Russia and G-7 countries ended two days of talks in Germany on Sunday by pledging commitment to further dialogue and cooperation in the area of finances, a senior Finance Ministry official told Interfax on Monday. The Russian delegation led by Acting Finance Minister Sergey Dubinin was involved in the G-7 finance ministers' meeting there.

The delegation also held bilateral talks with finance ministers of the U.S., Germany and France as well as IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus and representatives of the Paris and London Club of donor countries, the source said. More importantly, he said, the G-7 countries

reaffirmed their plans for further cooperation with Russia despite the resignation of Yegor Gaydar and Boris Fedorov. At the same time, it was pointed to the need to pay greater attention to social security matters.

For his part, Dubinin said that welcome as G-7 aid might be, Moscow would largely rely on its own resources.

The source said the G-7 finance ministers were invited to attend an EBRD-sponsored meeting in St Petersburg at the end of April intended to continue the dialogue.

On Russia-IMF talks in Moscow, the ministry official spoke of understanding reached on main issues though the two sides were still at odds on technicalities such as Russia's budget deficit.

The government plans a Rbl [rubles] 58 Tn [trillion] deficit this year. The Finance Ministry is ready to cover only Rbl 37 Tn of the proposed figure at the cost of CBR credits which makes up about 5 percent of the GDP. Inflation will be reduced to 8-9 percent by the end of 1994 (It ran at 22 percent in January) if the budget parameters are observed.

Political Issues

Counterintelligence Chief Said To Request Dismissal

LD2802150194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] As Interfax was told at the Russian Federal Counter-Intelligence Service's center of public relations, the dismissal of Nikolay Golushko from the post of the Russian Federal Counterintelligence Service's Director followed his repeated appeals to President Boris Yeltsin asking about the resignation due to family circumstances.

Dismissal Tied to Prisoners' Release

LD0103115294 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] In an INTERFAX interview, presidential press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov did not confirm reports that Nikolay Golushko was released from the post of director of the Federal Counterintelligence service because of family circumstances.

Kostikov emphasized that the edict did not contain such a phrase.

INTERFAX has learned from well-informed sources that Golushko's dismissal is mainly connected with the release of the participants of the Moscow October events from the Lefortovo prison remand cells.

Ilyukhin Denies Amnesty Link

LD2802181094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Viktor Ilyukhin, Security Committee Chairman of the State Duma, thinks that the president's decree dismissing Nikolay Golushko from his position as head of the Federal Counterintelligence Service (FCIS) "has nothing to do with the State Duma's ruling on political amnesty or its materialization."

Ilyukhin found "it difficult to understand from the oblique formulations of the decree what caused the dismissal of the FCIS director general." He assumed that the real cause were the last September and October events when the former Security Ministry "showed adherence to the Constitution and doubted the constitutionality of the presidential decree 1400 of September 21."

Ilyukhin thought that this was also the reason why a decision was made last December to dismantle the ministry and transform it into the Federal Counterintelligence Service—with much smaller powers.

The dismissal of Golushko might displease the FCIS personnel. "It is the president's usual technique, to have an agency dismantled by somebody he does not like and then dismiss him."

Goiushko Firing Said Planned

MK0103084094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 1 Mar 94 p 1

[Aleksandr Kudakayev report under the "Resignation" rubric: "Annual Replacement of Special Service Head"]

[Text] The Russian president's press service has advised that Colonel General Nikolay Golushko has been relieved of his duties as Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS] director. As has been the case more than once, FCS personnel were the last to learn about this—and from INTERFAX reports. The FCS Public Relations Center, therefore, finds it hard to comment on this event. Observers give as the reason for so sudden a step the recent release of the "Lefortovo inmates." Onlookers refer to the existence of a certain document forwarded to the heads of power agencies by presidential structures which indicated bluntly that no release of the opposition leaders was admissible. Golushko has been "punished" for everybody. Officials in the presidential staff state in this connection that the president had long been dissatisfied with incoming information.

Another possible version of Golushko's dismissal is "the Ames affair," because some reports speak about the presence in the FCS of foreign agents of a similar level. It seems to us, however, that the more probable cause for the dismissal is its "having been planned." It was obvious to virtually all experts that this person was temporary, and the president availed himself of all the sensational events of recent days as a pretext.

Current first deputy Sergey Stepashin is being named as the more probable candidate for Federal Counterintelligence Service director. It is possible, however, that an outsider will be appointed to this post. I have in mind former KGB generals who are not on the FCS staff but who are in the civil service and who have to do with the top echelons of power. The appointment of a civilian to this position is seen as unlikely.

Stepashin Named Acting Director

LD2802180994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1649 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] First Deputy Director of the Federal Service of Counter-Intelligence, Sergey Stepashin, is currently performing the duties of the Director of the Federal Service of Counter-Intelligence, Nikolay Golushko, due to his resignation. Such a situation is mentioned in the provision on the Federal Service of Counter-Intelligence, the service's Center for Public Relations told Interfax. Stepashin will act as the service's director until a new one be appointed.

Yeltsin Warns Amnestied Figures Could Be Arrested

LD0103131094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1252 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] Moscow March 1 ITAR-TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin met Chairman of the Federation Council Vladimir Shumeyko and Chairman of the State Duma

Ivan Rybkin in the Kremlin on Tuesday to express his view on the political situation in the country in the wake of the amnesty proclaimed by the parliament.

Yeltsin said he was aware of the negative reaction of the public both to the political amnesty of the people accused of crimes against the state and to the haste with which the parliament resolution was fulfilled, as a result of which the first to be freed were the persons charged with the gravest crimes against the state. The president said that the Constitution, the law and the procedural code were violated in the process.

The president then heard the State Duma chairman's explanations of the motives behind the house resolution on amnesty, as well as his assurances that the State Duma would draw appropriate political lessons and ensure a more balanced approach to the adoption of resolutions which are likely to entail serious political and moral consequences.

Yeltsin noted that he understood the concern expressed by the public, the press and individuals but refused to share the excessive evaluations and conclusions concerning the state power in Russia. "At present I see no real danger for civil accord and am in full control of the social and political situation," the president said.

The president said he decided against immediate tough measures taking into account the announced intention of the State Duma to act towards national concord and an understanding by the considerable part of the deputies of the fact that by passing a resolution on political amnesty they thereby assumed responsibility for the possible political activity of those they amnestied.

The president stressed that he regarded the agreement of the defendants to accept the amnesty as their recognition of guilt of criminal activities.

"Should the slightest attempt be made at destabilising the situation in the country, they will be arrested straight after," Yeltsin said. The president has issued appropriate instructions for the purpose.

During the meeting, the president and the chairmen of the Federal Assembly's chambers coordinated plans for the upcoming activity of the Federation Council, the State Duma and the president.

Yeltsin To Seek Common Ground With Duma Chairman

LD2802192394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1857 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin will meet with his senior aides and the State Duma chairman on Tuesday to discuss ways to boost cooperation between the legislative and executive branches, Yeltsin's Chief of Staff Sergey Filatov said on Monday.

The statement was made after his meeting with Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin, following the State Duma decision on amnesty for the leaders of the 1991 August failed coup, May Day riots and the October 1993 revolt in Moscow.

Filatov said that the recent events have revealed the lack of proper interaction between the two branches. He noted that both sides will set up working groups to iron out disagreements before March 10 when the Duma, the lower house, will reconvene. However, he refused to say in what particular directions the groups will be working, adding that the State Duma, as a collegiate body, should first "hold an internal discussion of what has happened."

Speaking about reports that Yeltsin was planning to address the nation on television tonight, Filatov said he did not know anything about it.

"It is most important to understand that the Duma's resolution means amnesty for only some people, but the investigation should be carried on," Filatov said.

The meeting was also attended by Acting Public Prosecutor Aleksey Ilyushenko, Yeltsin's representative in the State Duma Aleksandr Yakovlev and his senior aide Georgiy Satarov.

Yeltsin Meets Shumeyko, Rybkin

LD0103133994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1106 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] On Tuesday in the Kremlin, Russian President Boris Yeltsin met with Chairman of Russian Federal Assembly's Federation Council Vladimir Shumeyko. Our Interfax correspondent learned that during the conversation the officials discussed issues related to the work plans of the parliament's upper chamber. In particular, they spoke about settlement of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, in light of upcoming discussion of this issue in the parliament, they also touched upon relations with Chechnya.

Shumeyko also informed the president about the likelihood of the Civil Code coming up for consideration in the Federation Council.

Yeltsin and Shumeyko discussed the situation in the country in detail in the context of the amnesty announced by the State Duma.

On the same day Yeltsin is to meet with the State Duma speaker Ivan Rybkin.

1991 Coup Trial Discontinued in Wake of Amnesty

LD0103132894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1300 GMT 1 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—Following the release of October armed revolt organisers, the trial of 1991 abortive Soviet coup leaders was declared over on Tuesday.

On the basis of the political amnesty proclaimed by the State Duma the court ruled to drop criminal proceedings against former Soviet top officials who organised the 1991 August coup in Moscow.

The political amnesty proclaimed by Duma covered the 1991 coup plotters, organisers of the 1993 armed opposition revolt in Moscow and of the May Day demonstration last year. All the three events resulted in bloodshed.

Further on End to Trial

LD0103152994 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] Today at the court session on the case of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] in the military collegium of the Russian Supreme Court, a decision was reached in accordance with which the criminal proceedings against the defendants Anatoliy Lukyanov, Valentin Pavlov, Vladimir Kryuchkov, Oleg Shenin, Dmitriy Yazov, Oleg Baklanov, Valentin Varennikov, Yuriy Plekhanov, Vyacheslav Generalov, Aleksandr Tizyakov, and Vasiliy Starodubtsev were halted. This decision was taken by the court after the defendants had expressed agreement with the resolution on the amnesty adopted on 23 February in the State Duma and had called for a complete stop to the judicial examination.

Rutskoy To Run for President

LD0103153194 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] Aleksandr Rutskoy intends to stand for the post of head of state in future presidential elections. This was stated at a news conference in Novosibirsk by Vasiliy Lipitskiy, Duma deputy and chairman of the board of the Free Russia national party. He referred to a talk with Rutskoy after the latter was released from prison. This news was reported by ITAR-TASS.

Party Urges Limiting Rights of Coup Leaders

LD2802210794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2014 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—The Russian Democratic Reform Movement has called for neutralising the extremist tendencies in Russia, following the amnesty declared by the Russian State Duma for hardline coup leaders.

In a statement issued on Monday, the movement leaders urged the State Duma deputies to adopt an amendment to their decision on amnesty to limit the right of those pardoned to conduct political activity and be elected to posts in state bodies of power until the new presidential and parliamentary elections are held in the c untry.

The movement also called on all Russian parties and public organisations seeking to lessen political tension in society to urgently get down to work to set up a popular coalition of reform, which is the only means of saving Russia, as the statement said.

However, Valentin Kovalev, deputy chairman of the State Duma, stressed earlier today that under international agreements of which Russia is a party, it has no right to limit political rights of people who have been released by amnesty. "Therefore I believe that people released in connection with the act of political amnesty cannot be limited in their political rights. Otherwise it would contradict the norms of international law," he said.

He said that State Duma faction leaders suggested adopting a special act stripping those pardoned of what they have received under amnesty if they continue to destabilise the situation in the country. However, such a document would need clear-cut juridical specifications rather than political interpretations, primarily of the term "destabilisation," Kovalev said.

Official Says Amnesty Applies to 20,000 Prisoners

PM2802164594 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2o Feb 94 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Amnesty No Danger to Society"]

[Text] An insignificant number of convicts, approximately 20,000 out of the more than 800,000 held in corrective labor camps and solitary confinement centers, will be released from their places of confinement. Major General of the Interior Service Valeriy Orlov, first deputy chief of the Russian Interior Ministry's Main Directorate for Enforcing Sentences, said this in conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent yesterday.

He noted that, formally speaking, the amnesty covers a far greater number of people and this has given rise to various conjectures and rumor. However, the present amnesty will not be anything like the general release of recidivists well known from the movie "The cold summer of 1953." In the main the people to be released will be the very old, whom it is simply inhuman to keep in places of deprivation of liberty, invalids, and minors, as well as first-time offenders guilty of a crime of negligence or of a crime which does not pose an exaggerated danger to society. In particular, those who took part in combat actions in defense of the motherland will be freed from punishment.

Further Reaction to Amnesty, Release of Prisoners

Kazannik on Decision To Free Prisoners

LD2802192694

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1720 GMT on 28 February carries in its "Details" program an "exclusive" 10-minute interview with Aleksey Kazannik, former procurator general, conducted by correspondent Nikolay Svanidze.

Asked whether he thinks that those who walked free from the Lefortovo prison were criminals, Kazannik replies: "As a former procurator general I cannot make any such comment. This matter is exclusively in the jurisdiction of a court. I may have a personal opinion about them, but if

they were amnestied, they have to be released immediately, whether I like them or not. The law is the law."

Asked whether Yeltsin and his entourage put any pressure on him last week, Kazannik says: "Definitely. Because Baturin's message contained a proposal to disobey or at least to drag out the amnesty act. Meanwhile, Boris Nikolayevich's [Yeltsin] resolution said the following: Kazannik, Galushko, and Yerin are to follow Baturin's instructions. This was direct pressure. This was direct intervention into the jurisdiction of the procurator general."

Aleksey Kazannik goes on to say that his duty, as procurator general, was "to implement a resolution of the State Duma on a political and economic amnesty." He says that he contacted Yeltsin on Friday and asked him to repeal his orders, but Yeltsin categorically refused to do so. During his conversation with Yeltsin, he offered his resignation, but Yeltsin refused to accept it, and demanded that Kazannik find a way out of the situation.

Asked whether Yeltsin made it clear what sort of solution he was seeking for that situation, Kazannik replies: "No, he did not make it clear, but later his immediate entourage, his advisers tried to help me find a solution. But it was an unlawful solution. In fact, our conversation on Friday boiled down to how to stop the State Duma resolution." He says that he was told to ask the Duma to clarify the meaning of the word "immediately," to explain the fact that one part of the resolution calls for a general amnesty while another part only mentions Article 79 of the Constitution, and to define the difference between an amnesty and a pardon. Kazannik continues: "Under pressure, I was forced to say that the procuracy would indeed ask the State Duma for these clarifications, but nevertheless, I repeatedly said that the procuracy had nothing to do with this. The procuracy has no legislative powers. It does not question, but strictly follows legal enactments."

Kazannik adds that some ideas put forward by Yeltsin's advisers were simply laughable, such as the suggestion to declare the resolution invalid because it was published in the wrong section of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA.

Kazannik goes on to say that he is sorry if he disappointed Yeltsin by not obeying him, but when Yeltsin had appointed him, he accepted the post on the understanding that he would strictly follow the laws of the country, rather than personal orders.

In conclusion, Nikolay Svanidze says that Aleksey Kazannik is going to give up his recently acquired official residence and move back to his native Omsk. Meanwhile, the executive power in Moscow seems to be in complete disarray.

Kozyrev Urges Return to Prison

LD2802180594 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1655 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Feb—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is convinced that neither the decision to amnesty Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, and their associates, nor these people themselves "can in any measure destabilize the situation in the country, which is guaranteed by the provisions of the constitution and the policy of the Russian president."

Speaking today at a regular meeting with Russian and foreign journalists at the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation, Andrey Kozyrev, who is a deputy, also said that for him and many other Russian parliamentarians the Duma's decision on a political amnesty "seems shameful." "These people," he stated, "should be in prison. They broke the law and should be sent back to prison and tried. And then, perhaps, an amnesty will be extended to them."

This is a "mistake by those who released them," the minister stressed, "and I think the Russian president will take the appropriate decision in his own time."

Lukyanov: Amnesty 'Legitimate Step'

BR2802151794 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 26 Feb 94 p 17

[Interview with Anatoliy Lukyanov by Enrico Franceschini in Moscow; date not given: "'Yeltsin, Change Your Policy'"—first paragraph is LA REPUBBLICA introduction]

[Text] Moscow—Of the 253,000 prisoners and detainees waiting for trial, who were pardoned through an amnesty, the one who has the least reason for rejoicing is Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, because he already got his own back. As the president of the Soviet parliament until 1991, for many years he was the most powerful man in the USSR, after Gorbachev. Arrested and imprisoned as one of the promoters of the failed coup against perestroyka, he suddenly seemed a finished man, destined to end his days in jail. However, after having been released on parole, last December he was elected deputy for the Smolensk uninominal constituency ("supported by 102,000 voters," he emphasized proudly), in the most democratic elections in Russia's history. He represents a unique case worldwide, worthy of the Guinness book of records: a defendant who, in his capacity as deputy, voted in favor of his own amnesty, and thus pardoned himself. In this interview with LA REPUBBLICA, this resilient "great old man" explained the Duma's sensational decision.

[Franceschini] Was the amnesty a way of challenging the president?

[Lukyanov] No. It was a legitimate step, a proposal aiming at peaceful coexistence, so that we stop treating each other like enemies.

[Franceschini] But an amnesty is a "pardon": By accepting it, are you not in fact acknowledging your guilt as regards involvement in the 1991 coup?

[Lukyanov] Not at all. The amnesty provides for the suspension of the proceedings. It does not bring in a verdict of guilt. I never admitted being guilty, and I certainly will not do so now.

[Franceschini] You are known as an eminent jurist. Is this amnesty—which pardons at the same time those who were persecuted for ideological offenses and those who fired their weapons and killed people during last October's insurrection—not abhorrent to you?

[Lukyanov] If, among the rebel parliament's defenders, those who fired should be prosecuted, then those who fired on parliament should also be prosecuted—those who opened fire first, and those who ordered the White House to be shelled. The authors of that attack were never prosecuted, so it is only natural that those who were on the other side should also be pardoned.

[Franceschini] Has the Duma permanently given up conducting an enquiry into last October's violent incidents, in exchange for the amnesty? Will you no longer attempt to prosecute Yeltsin?

[Lukyanov] We would have been forced to give up sooner or later, anyway, because the government was not providing us with any of the necessary evidence for an enquiry. However, even without our contribution, some day public opinion will demand that this matter be cleared up. The country wants to know the truth.

[Franceschini] Do you think Yeltsin will try to block the amnesty at the very last minute?

[Lukyanov] If he does so, he would be smothering the new-born constitution. The Duma has acted lawfully. A reasonable politician will not take such a step. He does not enjoy enough popular support to afford doing that kind of thing.

[Franceschini] Does this mean, then, that the struggle between the president and parliament has come to an end?

[Lukyanov] Can the struggle come to an end if the government does not change its policy? No, it cannot. Because of such a policy, social inequality has reached unprecedented levels in Russia. If Yeltsin does not change his policy, the struggle will flare up again even more forcefully.

[Franceschini] Do you not think that Yeltsin has already changed his policy, by making the radical reformers leave the government, and slowing down the pace of reform?

[Lukyanov] It is too late. He should have done so two years ago. I hope that common sense will prevail now. If Yeltsin defends the state's heritage, if he safeguards the most basic human rights, if he seriously combats crime, and protects our country's—rather than some other country's—interests in the international arena, then we will support him.

[Franceschini] Once he is free, will former Vice President Rutskoy become the head of the opposition?

[Lukyanov] Rutskoy is jointly responsible for a large part of Yeltsin's policies, starting from the liquidation of the USSR. His former political prisoner's halo will not be enough to enable him to become the country's new leader.

[Franceschini] Gorbachev has expressed concern over the amnesty.

[Lukyanov] Gorbachev should be happy that he will not have to testify in our trial. Thus he will not risk ending up on the defendants' bench rather than staying among the witnesses.

[Franceschini] Do you consider yourself a communist? Would you like to restore the dictatorship of the proletariat?

[Lukyanov] We cannot go back, dictatorship will never again be possible. Despite the fact that today we are living under an authoritarian, Bonapartist regime, with all the power concentrated in the president's hands, democracy is a conquest that no one can take back from us. Within the Duma, I am not part of the communist group, but the communists call me the parliament's Deng Xiao Ping. Said by them, I regard it as a compliment.

[Franceschini] While you were in prison you wrote poetry. Are you still writing any or did your inspiration dry out?

[Lukyanov] I am still writing. However, in prison I wrote 200 poems, but I have only written 30 as a free man. "Outside" there is no time to reflect. Who knows, perhaps I would be happier "inside."

Rybkin 'Confused' Over Swift Release

LD2802164894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1436 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Speaker of the Duma Ivan Rybkin at a meeting of senior parliamentary officials on Monday said he was confused over the undue haste with which the Prosecutor General's Office had ordered the release of the leaders of the October uprising from Moscow's Lefortovo prison.

This follows a statement from Defense Committee chairman Sergey Yushenkov who represented the Russia's Choice Party at the meeting. In his words, the speaker said that former prosecuter general Aleksey Kazannik had sent him a letter on Saturday asking how to implement the Duma amnesty resolution but announced his resignation later in the day without waiting for reply.

Yushenkov said that as soon as the Duma reconvened on March 11, a draft resolution would be put up for discussion warning the uprising leaders that the amnesty could be withdrawn if they violated Article 70 of the Criminal Code. The article spells out punishment measures against organizers of mass riots.

Zorkin Declines Comment

LD2802175994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1649 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Constitutional Court [CC] Judge Valery Zorkin has refused to comment on whether or not the Duma's amnesty resolution was constitutional. In an interview

with Interfax on Monday, he said such a judgment was the prerogative of the CC as a whole and that being only one of its members he had no authority to consider or discuss it with the press on his own.

At the same time, Zorkin said that away from judgments, any parliamentary act was mandatory for execution unless rescinded in a proper way.

In his view, the noise over the amnesty resolution only helped fuel confrontation.

Zorkin said that in a civilized country, any official regardless of rank could have been sacked if he had opposed a mass media law in public. But in Russia, he said, "parliamentary acts are immediately pilloried by those who are called upon to hold them sacred and execute them at once".

Yeltsin Aides Comment

LD2802185594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1551 GMT 28 Feb 94

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature No. 40 (530): Reports by Diplomatic Correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others]

[Text] Presidential aides Georgiy Satarov and Yuriy Baturin and Yeltsin's representative in parliament Aleksandr Yakovlev held a news brief in Moscow on Monday.

In an opening speech, Yakovlev said he thought that the main idea of the president's message to parliament was a commitment to build a democratic society in Russia in democratic ways in keeping with the country's constitution and laws.

For his part, Satarov said the new constitution marked an end to the stage of building democracy from "above". He described Russia's democracy as rather fragile adding it needed internal stability to survive. The aide described as fundamental those aspects of Yeltsin's address.

Both officials agreed that Russia was still in need of coordinated legislation to ensure internal stability under its multi-party democracy. "The system tends to become a destabilizing factor when the number of parties exceeds five", Satarov said. And he called for the creation of such parties which could reflect real public mood and opinion. Satarov pointed to the message's section saying part of government functions must be devolved to the public.

The Duma's Saturday resolution on amnesty for October uprising leaders dominated the agenda.

Yakovlev said the society was tired of political squabbles. In his view, many of the deputies voted for amnesty driven by a sincere desire for civic peace. He said it would not be long before it became clear whether the resolution was aimed at national reconciliation or confrontational attitudes.

On the possibility of the amnesty being withdrawn, Satarov said the rebellion leaders could be jailed again only Interfax they were in breach of law. [sentence as received] "Such is the president's belief", he added. The aide described as crazy the suggestion from one of the journalists saying the president could try to overturn the amnesty resolution by force.

One other aide, Yuriy Baturin, who was 45 minutes late for the briefing because of a routine meeting with Yeltsin said: "Our society is in need of an amnesty law. Without such an act, it will be hard to envisage steps for minimizing the negative implications of the Duma's amnesty resolution". Baturin reaffirmed having discussed this with Yeltsin. But declined to comment on the meeting though not ruling out the possibility of Yeltsin appearing on appear on national television on Monday.

Baturin described the continuing split in the democratic camp as by far the greatest danger for Russia's fledgling democracy. "We must overcome it. I hope we will, otherwise there can be no democratic society," he said.

A presidential message listing priority bills, scheduled to be submitted to the Duma this Monday, will not be sent to the lower house of the Russian parliament for at least two or three days. Georgy Satarov, president's assistant, told Interfax Monday that "the State Duma forced us to attend to other business," meaning the presidential team's attempt to have the release of those amnestied by the Duma put off.

According to Satarov, those attempts were not dictated by the desire to safeguard the president from a comeback by his political opponents. Rather, the goals of Yeltsin's messages to the prosecutor general and the State Duma were to align the amnesty with the law and minimize the harm it might do.

Satarov did not agree with the view that the presidential team had been passive while the Duma had debated and later adopted the amnesty resolution. He said that he had proposed to the State Duma Council on February 22 that the issue should not have been discussed before the annual presidential message was heard.

Satarov emphasized that the lower house of parliament was best placed to prevent a new increase of political tension in the country. He said that he had been assured by State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin that the parliament's leaders were aware of this responsibility.

Sobchak: Amnesty Challenge to Yeltsin

LD0103092594 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2305 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 1 Mar— St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak called the amnesty a human act, commenting at the request of an ITAR-TASS correspondent on the amnesty for the Lefortovo detainees declared by the State Duma. But he said that "this decision is an act of

political struggle and a challenge to the president and to the policy he is conducting. It cannot fail to act as a means of political destabilization."

In Sobchak's view, "the point is not that people should be in prison; the main thing is that the actual crime should be condemned.

"There is no doubt that a crime was committed on 3-4 October last year against the individual and the state, an armed rebellion that led to numerous fatalities. That fact cannot be erased by any amnesties at all."

Anatoliy Sobchak recalled that the first draft constitution stated that an amnesty could be declared by the Federal Assembly, i.e. the State Duma and the Federation Council. Unfortunately, he said, in the final version of the Constitution, that stipulation fell by the wayside, and only the State Duma retained the right, which the opposition took advantage of.

Nevertheless, St. Petersburg's mayor stressed, the State Duma had the right to declare an amnesty, and there are only a number of questions connected with the wording of the amnesty declaration. "It's one thing when it covers people who are involved in mass disorders; it's quite another thing when they are involved in violence and murder. That is precisely the charge brought against a whole string of participants in the events of October."

According to Sobchak, an actual amnesty can be applied only to persons who are guilty of committing crimes. "But if they do not acknowledge their guilt, an amnesty cannot apply to them." This legal problem should have been resolved by the Procurator-General's office before the organizers of the October rebellion were released."

Shakhray Calls For 'Public Reconciliation'

LD2802193194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1649 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] "Now is the time to turn over a new leaf and start the process of public reconciliation", leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUC] Sergey Shakhray said on Monday.

He described as "perfectly correct" his party's support to last Wednesday's package. This included a resolution on political and economic amnesty, amnesty in connection with the adoption of the new constitution, a memorandum of concord and a resolution to rescind the Duma resolution on setting up a commission of inquiry into last October's uprising.

Shakhray said it was impossible to pass a legal judgment on the October events in Moscow because this could be passed only on criminal cases rather than "acts of civil war". He said the winner was alone in a position to enforce his legal judgment through government structures.

At the same time, he expressed regret that the uprising leaders had been released so soon by the Prosecutor General Office [PGO].

Shakhray said the State Duma must issue a statement saying "no one is allowed" to take advantage of the amnesty to incite people for renewed violence.

Shakhray said the faction's position had enlisted support from PRUC's regional branches.

He said Yeltsin's representatives knew about a forthcoming resolution and the balance of forces in parliament let alone attended the session a day before the resolution was approved [sentence as received]. Shakhray said this was an indication of lack of coordination on the federal level between actions taken by administration, government, parliamentary and PGO officials with each side left to act on its own.

Shakhray expressed regret over Prosecutor General Aleksey Kazannik's resignation. In his view, the PGO was not dragged into politics under Kazannik but there is a threat that this may happen following his departure.

Shumeyko on Amnesty, Other Issues

LD2802234494

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1910 GMT on 28 February broadcasts the 60-minute, recorded, "Without Retouching" program featuring an interview with Federation Council Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko by moderator Georgiy Dolgov and a panel of press and broadcast correspondents.

An ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent begins by saying that the recent amnesty decision to release the putschists points to it being a plot between parliament and government.

"You know", Shumeyko replies, "I could not see any sign of a plot. If you want to speak about this, however, then Russia told the whole world that it would build a law-based state and that there would, at long last, be a division of powers in Russia into legislative, executive, and legal powers. Each branch of power has its own prerogatives. It so happened that the Duma declared an amnesty, and it did so according to the law. If you look at Article 103 of the Constitution, it is there in black and white."

Shumeyko goes on to define amnesty as the release of criminals from punishment and says that the legislative body adopted the role of the court. He says: "Whatever my attitude may be to the Lefortovo inmates, I believe that they treated them incorrectly. Still, there had to be a trial, and the court decided. Then there was an amnesty. Now it turns out that, some people say, that once the inmates acknowledged the amnesty and left prison they admitted they were guilty and admitted they were criminals. They admitted they were guilty of everything that happened. That is one point of view. The other point of view says no. They were innocent. They should be released."

Shumeyko says it is a good that people have different views, so long as it is according to the law. He adds that what has happened is over, and we must see what happens next.

A SEGODNYA correspondent asks Shumeyko about budget allocations to the agrarian sector in the first quarter. Shumeyko says that this matter was discussed in the Federal Council, and they arrived at a figure of 7 trillion rubles. He adds that it is a matter of choosing the right path between high inflation and supporting commodity producers and says that the latter must be supported.

A KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent asks Shumeyko whether Aleksandr Rutskoy, now that he is free, has information that may be used against some of the present leaders, including Shumeyko himself. Shumeyko says he does not think that Rutskoy has any secret information. It is the same old story, he says, when some people fabricate charges for personal gain.

Dolgov interjects that a commercial bank bought up documents containing materials that compromised Shumeyko. Shumeyko says he has never signed any document that could be interpreted as corruption.

The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent then asks Shumeyko what he has gained from recent moves in his career. Shumeyko replies that he and his predecessor, Ruslan Khasbulatov, had different opinions on many issues. He says he believes that more than half the laws adopted by the previous Supreme Soviet were of a political nature and that this merely hindered the progress of the reforms.

A ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent asks if the Federation Council would overturn the amnesty decision if it had the power. Shumeyko says he believes that it would. He says he is against the amnesty decision as a politician and chairman.

An IZVESTIYA correspondent asks about the technicalities with regard to Procurator General Kazannik's resignation. Shumeyko says: "The Federation Council is not in session at the moment. The next session will be on 15 March. It happened like this: Procurator General Kazannik resigned. The president—on the basis of Kazannik's resignation statement—wrote out his instruction, or edict. He wrote that he had received Kazannik's resignation and that he would go to the Federation Council with a proposal to release Kazannik and to appoint Ilyushenko to the office.

"I received this letter from the president. During the recess between sessions, I said that there was no procedural norm, so I signed the instruction. I do not have the right to make the decision. I do not have the right to decide for the whole Federation Council. Therefore, the instruction literally said the following: until examination of the question of the resignation/appointment by the Federation Council, in accordance with Article 102 of the Constitution, to agree with the president's proposal to entrust the execution of duties to Ilyushenko. In other words, this is until 15 March. On 15 March, all these official letters of the president will be submitted, and we will examine them in the proper manner. We will adopt a decision then, or we will not adopt a decision."

Shumeyko continues by elaborating on the importance of the struggle against crime and, hence, the importance of making the correct decision over the post of procurator general.

An OBSHCHAYA GAZETA asks if Russia is not in a dangerous position now with a new Duma in place and the possibility of further confrontation. Shumeyko says he does not see any confrontation between the powers at present. He adds that time will tell how matters develop, but the main thing is that proper laws are adopted and are accepted by the people. He says he believes that everything can be solved politically.

A LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent asks when there will be another October this year—alluding to a statement by Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov. Shumeyko retorts that it will be in October, according to the calendar. He says he takes these statements with a grain of salt.

Answering a question from a Radio Rossii correspondent about the make-up of the parliament and the different factions, Shumeyko says that while there may be great differences in the Duma, there are no such factional divisions in the Federation Council. He adds that all deputies are equal and, therefore, it will come to decisions more quickly.

A Radio Svoboda correspondents asks what Shumeyko thinks the next round of presidential elections in 1996 will look like, whether it will be a Zhirinovskiy-Rutskoy or Chernomyrdin-Rutskoy-Zhirinovskiy clash. Shumeyko says he does not like predictions, and it will be up to the people to decide who their president will be. He add that he does not believe the formulas Radio Svoboda has presented will in fact emerge. He says that the thing to remember is that the institution of the presidency is still a young one in Russia; it is still emerging and needs to be consolidated.

Shumeyko then answers a question from PRAVDA about the state of the media's finances. He says it is obviously a good thing if the country has well-established papers, and PRAVDA has a special place in the country's life. He adds that a reduction in taxes would help the press.

Dolgov asks about television, and Shumeyko replies that television also needs funds. He adds that as long as television is owned by the state it is part of the budget. He says that television, in general, is in need of investment.

The ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent cites an article in THE FINANCIAL TIMES about vast sums of cash going out of the country and then asks what Shumeyko is going to do about corruption in the Federation Council. Shumeyko talks about the need for foreign investment. He adds that there is not such a big problem with regard to corruption.

The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent asks if Shumeyko intends to elevate the status of the Interparliamentary Assembly. Shumeyko says he does, particularly when it comes to tackling issues in areas like Karabakh and

others with a Russian-speaking population. He says that a plenary session will be held on 17-19 March and that all justice ministers and chairmen of arbitration courts will be invited to debate a Russian civic code. He adds that a social code also needs to be worked out.

The SEGODNYA correspondent asks Shumeyko how inflation and extra cash to Agroprom can be balanced. He then asks how far Shumeyko is prepared to go to avoid extreme inflation.

Shumeyko replies that inflation can be curbed as long as the money goes to the right areas and the agro-industrial complex is one.

Shumeyko closes by giving brief answers to questions. He says he is not planning to run for president at the next election and believes it would be good for Russia if Yeltsin were to hold office again. He says only fascist newspapers will be closed down.

Release May Lead to Political Demise

MK0103104094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Mar 94 p 1

[Anna Ostapchuk, Yevgeniy Krasnikov report in the "Collision" column: "The Opposition Gets Rivals From Lefortovo. The President Begins a Realignment of Forces"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The president's unwillingness to turn to the Constitutional Court (the sole body with the power to overrule the Duma's resolution) suggests that his attitude to the amnesty decision is not as negative as some of his associates (Sergey Filatov and others) make out. This version is also corroborated by the fact that all measures to prevent the execution of the sacramental resolution came a little late in the day.

Indeed the Duma made its amnesty decision on 23 February while the president's response (letters to speaker Rybkin and General Prosecutor Kazannik) did not come out until the 26th. Of course, such a belated reaction can be attributed to the general lack of coordination in the presidential services and their unreadiness for such a turn of events (although it is very hard to describe the Duma's decision as totally unexpected). Yet it can be supposed that all these "impeding" actions on Yeltsin's part are no more than an artful stage production devised not only to prevent an investigation which is unwanted by the president, but first to demonstrate to the radical democrats the president's solidarity with their position; and second, to facilitate Aleksey Kazannik's transfer from the General Prosecutor's Office to the Constitutional Court. It this is correct, Yeltsin's acceptance of Kazannik's resignation is not a sign of disgrace but only part of a calculated plot. It is not ruled out that the aura of a principled and independent man will help Kazannik take the vacant seat of the Constitutional Court chairman. (It should be noted parenthetically that Aleksey Ilyushenko, currently acting prosecutor general, can hardly ever become an object of such a complex intrigue. His political reputation is quite certain: He is a former member of the Interagency Anti-Corruption Commission which charged Rutskoy with signing some compromising documents).

To be sure, the State Duma's amnesty decision hardly pleased the president. Signs are, however, that the upper hand was gained by those members of the presidential team who maintained that the "Octobrists" are much more dangerous in the symbolic image of martyrs than as real political figures.

The complaints by the radical democrats who treat this action as a step toward civil war appear unsubstantiated. After all, the amnesty decision does not restore the political power duality September 1993-style but only increases the number of opposition leaders by a few men.

The liberation of Anpilov and Konstantinov will hardly consolidate the opposition and inspire it to take to new barricades. The performance by these political figures in September and October aroused criticism even among Yeltsin's forthright opponents while the associations led by them—the National Salvation Front and Working Russia—are now in a profound organizational crisis.

As for Aleksandr Rutskoy, as a politician he certainly enjoys great authority. But it should be remembered that he became leader of the whole opposition and a real alternative to Yeltsin by virtue of his high post, in the extreme situation of a coup d'etat. Now opposition politicians (Zhirinovskiy, Zyuganov, and Baburin) should see him rather as a potential rival: According to people close to Rutskoy, he intends not only to return to politics but even to contest presidential elections. [passage omitted]

Legal Experts Assess Amnesty

PM0103100594 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 94 p 1

[Vasiliy Ustyuzhanin report: "Is Kindness Worse than a Crime?"]

[Text] The State Duma's amnesty decision has aroused a storm of high emotion. We won't judge the political aspect of the event. We will verify the document's legality. What do jurists say?

Anatoliy Sobchak, St. Petersburg mayor and a lawyer:

"The Duma's decision is unlawful. Only those who have acknowledged their guilt in the commission of a crime and on whom judgment has already been passed can be amnestied. If someone does not acknowledge his guilt (and the participants in the events of 1991 and 1993 have, by all accounts, not done so), how can they be amnestied?"

Tamara Morshchakova, judge of the Constitutional Court:

"I can say only that the act of amnesty differs from a pardon in that the latter is individualized. An amnesty may be granted regardless of the stage of the proceedings in the case. Moreover, it may also be applied to actions into which no criminal proceedings have been instituted at the moment of the promulgation of the act of amnesty."

Richard Pipes, professor at Harvard University:

"This decision demonstrates that the concept of a rule-of-law state is very underdeveloped in Russia. How can you amnesty people who have not been tried at all and when no one even knows whether they are guilty or not. It is a political move and has nothing at all to do with the law."

Aleksey Kazannik, general prosecutor of Russia:

"Each of the defendants subject to the amnesty will be informed of the content of the Duma decree. If they are in agreement with the Duma decision, I will issue a decree halting criminal proceedings."

As you can see, the legal and political impasse is obvious. The two branches of power have gotten into this impasse. This is the consequence of the ill-considered and mutually destructive decisions that were made in the fall of 1993. The sides have now tried to find a compromise. The president would not want the creation of a parliamentary commission to investigate the tragic events of October. The Duma went along with him, as it were, and revoked the decision to set up a commission. But it immediately made up the ground ceded by adopting the amnesty act. As is becoming clear, this is not a compromise capable of reassuring society. The house we live in has clearly not become more peaceful. The Constitutional Court could act as arbiter in the conflict situation, but it currently is literally 'outlawed,' as the law on the Constitutional Court has not yet been adopted. The president revoked the old Law "On the Constitutional Court" by his well-known Edict No. 1,400, so the main arbiter remains offside.

What have the politicians been fighting for?

Presidential Council Member Criticizes Decree

PM2802220094 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 94 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Article by Alla Yaroshinskaya, member of the Presidential Council: "Foros in the Kremlin?"]

[Text] A state of shock is, I am sure, what millions must have found themselves in when they heard that it was only on the morning of Saturday 26 February that presidential aide Georgiy Satarov delivered a letter from President Yeltsin to Speaker Ivan Rybkin requesting revision of the chamber's amnesty decree.

Expecting precisely such a natural reaction from the president and his closest aides immediately after the adoption of the decree, and not receiving it in the two days that followed, many people decided that very high-level and subtle politics were involved here. Former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev voiced his conjecture directly on television. It really seemed to many people that the Kremlin simply had to react, and immediately, to the Duma's amnesty decree, that it did not have the right in the face of the whole country and the world to do otherwise. But if it was not reacting or protesting, that meant that something which we mere mortals were not privy to was afoot here, but we mere mortals could nevertheless be sure that we were being looked after and that everything was all right.

Now it emerges that, while the presidential aide was conveying the president's letter to the speaker, the general prosecutor was giving up the prosecutor's "throne of office" and his deputy was deciding the country's fate.

In other words, there was simply no dark secret about, for example, Boris Yeltsin's having agreed with Ivan Rybkin and Viktor Chernomyrdin on some political concessions from them in exchange for the president's granting of freedom to the heroes of the civil carnage. It did not and does not exist. What, then, in that case was there?

The amnesty decree was passed by the Duma on Wednesday 23 February, just before the president's annual address to the Federal Assembly deputies. On the morning of 24 February I—as a member of the Presidential Council—went to the session. But how surprised I was, then, when the security guards at the entrance, after carefully examining my pass as a member of the Presidential Council, refused to let me into the hall....

That morning I was unable to see anyone—the president, his aides, the head of administration. I heard the president's speech on television at the same time as I saw "on the box" the very people whom I had very much needed to communicate with personally. Hearing no direct references in the president's speech to the amnesty, I thought that there were undoubtedly decisions of some sort in being of which we were unaware and that consequently things were as they should be. It was simply impossible to imagine it otherwise—that no one was seriously thinking about this. But I wanted to know for sure whether things were as they should be or not, particularly as immediately after the adoption of the decree Aleksandr Maksimovich Yakovlev, a very experienced lawyer and, what is more, the president's representative in the Duma, stated in a television interview that the Duma's decision fell within its remit. While Aleksey Kazannik also stated immediately after the president's speech that he would carry out the Duma's decision as soon as he was in receipt of documents which were not at odds with the law.

After the president's speech I began trying to contact Administration Chief Sergey Filatov by phone with the intention of fixing up a meeting. He has two offices: One in the Kremlin, close to the president's, and another on Staraya Ploshchad, closer to the apparatus. At Staraya Ploshchad they said that he was busy. Somewhat later I was told that unfortunately he had already left for the Kremlin. At the Kremlin, however, they said: "He will not be here till Monday." This strengthened me even further in my conviction that everything was all right, that everything was consequently as it should be; after all, the head of administration could not go away for three days at a time when the Duma amnesty decree would have to be carried out. No, that could not happen in a normal country!

The Duma had, after all, by this time already made several attempts to implement the amnesty decree—and certainly

in a way designed to empty the cells in Lefortovo. (One scandal-renowned politician wryly joked while discussing this topic with me over the telephone:

"They (meaning Yeltsin's team) have emptied Lefortovo for themselves." Anyone interested in politics presumed quite justifiably that the administration's numerous experts and analysts were engaged day and night in studying various courses of action or—even better—potential outflanking maneuvers.

On 24 February I was telephoned by ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA editor Natalya Polezhayeva, who was almost in hysterics: State Duma deputies had been contacting her on the ordinary phone lines and the special government ones asking why the newspaper had not published the amnesty decree? "I replied," Polezhayeva said, "that I did not have the complete package of documents yet. Someone had reported to Rybkin that the decree would not be carried in the newspaper the next day, the 25th. Rybkin faxed me a letter and demanded a written explanation for the Duma. I faxed to him my explanatory letter to the Duma. But I myself telephoned Kostikov. He heard me out and said: 'What is there to do, then? It has to be published.' So I carried the whole 'package' of documents in the issue. It was announced on the "Novosti" program on the evening of 26 February that ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA was publishing the amnesty decree the next day. (People will know that the decree comes into effect from the moment of its publication. In other words, the publication gave the spur to its further implementation—A.Ya.). Immediately after the "Novosti" news program, at 2200, I was telephoned at home by Satarov who asked why the decree was being published. I explained this to him in plain terms. He became very down-hearted and said that he and Baburin would now 'concoct something,' draft some kind of letter from the president to Rybkin. After that call I realized that there was no secret concerning the amnesty, that they had simply not thought about anything over there...." I consoled the editor by joking that she would certainly be given credit by the Lefortovo prisoners when they were released.

On the 26th, right up to the release of the whole gang, I dialed all the important Kremlin numbers. Only secretaries answered. The secretary of first presidential aide Viktor Ilyushin said: "He is working elsewhere and won't be here today."

I told journalists who rang me that the inner circle—and they are literally just a few in number—could actually be working somewhere at a dacha, as is usual with our country's political establishment. But I had no other, "dacha" telephone numbers available to me. I still did not believe that everything could be simply so primitive—that no one was actually making any calculations, undertaking anything, or apparently intended doing so. AND IF YOU, PRESIDENTIAL AIDE GEORGIY SATAROV, HAD NOT BY CHANCE HEARD ON THE OSTANKINO CHANNEL THAT THE DUMA AMNESTY DECREE WOULD BE PUBLISHED IN ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, THERE WOULD SIMPLY NOT EVEN HAVE BEEN THE BELATED LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO IVAN RYBKIN ON THE MORNING OF 26 FEBRUARY!

The president's letter, which was written after the "Novosti" program, on the night of 25-26 February and which was designed to show everyone the concern felt by the authorities at this senseless act, explains, at least to me, a very important thing which is just as dangerous as the amnesty act adopted by the deputies, namely that the supreme authorities were—we will learn some time whether by accident or design—in a complete information vacuum. Just as during those memorable days in October, everyone had, as it were, disappeared and was getting on with work and other concerns at "different venues." Only this time the role of Gaydar in providing the danger signals, danger signals above all for the authorities, was taken on by television announcers. But, alas, this time when they heard about the act amnestying those whom they had opposed in October 1993 Russians STAYED AT HOME. Only the Red opposition was attending rallies. THERE WAS NOT A SINGLE RALLY PROTESTING AGAINST THE DUMA DECISION OR SUPPORTING THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER.

Certain nonimportunate questions occur to me in this regard which I would like to ask those whom I was unable to reach by telephone in the Kremlin for a whole week.

First, I would very much like to know the name of the bright guy who proposed to Yeltsin and persuaded him that it was extremely necessary for the president to head off Volfovich's [Zhirinovskiy] amnesty idea and himself sumbit such a legislative initiative to the Duma. Who is this benefactor of ours? Did the whole legion of experts, analysts, and political scientists in the Kremlin and on Staraya Ploshchad really not realize that the Duma would certainly exploit the proposal to add their own paragraph—about a political amnesty? But if that was so and the proponent of the idea was very anxious about the 20,000 people "inside," why did he not consider that option and warn the president? Let us suppose that he did consider it and issued a warning, but the president decided to initiate the amnesty just the same. Why, then, did the president's men (and new president's men now) not consider and propose in good time a dozen options to meet this expected event? After all, the Duma had persistently approached this point during several divisions but had lacked the votes. Even Volfovich and his team could not produce a result. (None other than Sergey Shakhray, deputy and minister who was appointed a member of the Security Council by the president himself two weeks ago, helped here, as we know. Greatly concerned about reconciliation and harmony in society, he came to everyone's aid at the crucial moment with his Party of Russian Unity and Accord, stating during a TV interview immediately after the president's speech that the political forces which voted for the amnesty must assume responsibility for the future exemplary behavior of those who had stepped out of line, and modestly keeping silent about his own role in this story).

Not only were the president's moves not planned even one step ahead, but the state mass media proved unprepared for such a scenario; TASS political observer Tamara Zamyatina described in detail on Sunday's "Itogi" program how they were simply unable to get anything intelligible out of anyone behind the Kremlin wall. Only nonstate television in the "Itogi" program gave a complete picture of the mood in the Kremlin and at Lefortovo both at the moment of release and afterward. Only after the event did state television shamefacedly show scraps of documentary footage of October 1993, complete with the calls to seize the Kremlin, City Hall, and Ostankino.

The president has a very large number of people around him. They can no longer fit into the Kremlin. But for the umpteenth time he has found himself hostage to them alone, with his fate balanced on a knife edge.

But the juggernaut rolls on. A month ago we met with the president and spoke about the poverty-stricken state of the press in our state. During our 30-minute conversation he summoned aides and apparatus staff by telephone five times, even giving them instructions on these questions. Subsequently I wrote official notes to him and his aides several times with proposals regarding what needs to be done to avoid further confrontation with journalists. Alas, everything keeps flowing and nothing changes.

But while General Barannikov was getting his things ready to leave, a colleague of his, also a KGB general, who had looked after Barannikov's public relations, was getting ready to assume the sensitive leadership of the press in the capacity of first deputy chairman of the State Committee for the Press. That is something, colleagues! It is a long time since we have been run from there. But the time has come, and the documents have already been submitted to the government for confirmation .

These are the questions which I would like answered both as a member of the Presidential Council and as an ordinary citizen who is not indifferent to either the fate of the country or, naturally, the fate of my own children.

Amnesty Seen Beneficial to President

MK2402130094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 24 Feb 94 p 2

[Petr Zhuravlev, Dmitriy Kuznets report in the "Victory" column: "Amnesty Changes the Political Situation in Russia. Rutskoy, at the Head of Combatants, Will Stand Up to Zhirinovskiy"]

[Text] The somewhat dubious prospect of ensuring national concord hardly inspired the State Duma deputies during yesterday's voting for a package containing the elements "memorandum of accord, amnesty, political amnesty, abolition of the commission to investigate the October events." It is more logical to assume that lying behind the slogan of universal conciliation are quite concrete political interests whose coordination was reduced to commonplace bargaining.

The agro-communist bloc, which sought to the very end to uphold the "investigation" commission, tried to use the package for just another attack on President Yeltsin. Gennadiy Zyuganov's supporters were ready to agree to the prospect that the inmates to be released from Lefortovo can pose serious competition for the "legal" opposition and cause just another split within communist ranks. Yet even the threat of renewed political activity by Russian Communist Workers Party leader Viktor Anpilov did not keep them from the temptation to demonstrate their fighting spirit to the Kremlin. True, it needs to be recognized that the liquidation of the parliamentary commission was a fairly tangible fly in the ointment for the Russian Federation Communist Party and the Agrarian Party of Russia.

Sergey Shakhray, traditional author of various "compromises," according to Deputy Viktor Sheynis (Yabloko faction), "has won in his own game: Now he will be called the father of national accord." This accord, however, appears rather one-sided. It was the Communists who rushed to congratulate Shakhray on his impressive victory after the session. Shaking his hand, Zyuganov's associates were happy: "At last Sergey Mikhaylovich has waken up."

The PRES [Party of National Unity and Accord] leader himself, however, did not share this joy over his own "awakening." PRES' "natural allies," i.e., Yabloko and Russia's Choice, did not display any particular ecstasy over the proposed formula for ecumenical conciliation. Moreover, the muffled hissing behind Shakhray's back clearly contained the word "treachery." Having tipped the scale in favor of the Communists (this conclusion follows from the voting results), Shakhray has for the first time dissociated himself from the "democratic bloc." In spite of this, he will always be received back into the fold with outstretched arms: His "natural allies" need heads too badly.

Russia's Choice leader Yegor Gaydar is waiting for the first results of the "national accord"—the appearance of "Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, and others at the head of combatants in Moscow streets." According to Viktor Sheynis, on the other hand, the political revival of the Lefortovo inmates is not a catastrophe. In fact Sheynis sees their release as a boon for the president and the entire democratic camp.

The first "plus" is the possibility for the president to get gracefully out of the situation where the participants in the October events have acquired the aura of martyrs while "chances are that they will never be indicted anyway." Another "plus" is Aleksandr Rutskoy's participation in the upcoming presidential elections. According to Viktor Sheynis, Rutskoy has an electorate similar to Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's, which they will share on an approximately equal basis. Therefore the chances for victory by a democratic candidate in the elections are still intact.

It is dubious, however, that Boris Yeltsin has such a gift of prophesy and it was for the sake of these dubious advantages that under the Constitution he endowed the Duma with the power of amnesty, whereupon a corresponding

bill to the parliament's lower chamber was submitted. Moreover, not to understand that the Duma majority will add political amnesty to this draft law points to a total lack of political acumen.

Amnesty Seen as Presidential Campaign Launch

PM2802130594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 94 p 4

[Sergey Chugayev report: "Having Declared Amnesty, Duma Leaders Have Begun Presidential Campaign"]

[Text] V. Zhirinovskiy, leader of the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] faction in the State Duma, announced after the close of the 23 February session of the lower chamber of parliament that this day could be regarded as a new Russian national holiday—a sort of Day of General Reconciliation. For his part, S. Yushenkov, one of the leaders of the "Russia's Choice" faction, expressed the belief that this day could signal the start of civil war.

Such polarized opinions regarding the decree adopted by the Duma on an amnesty for those who took part in the August [1991] and October [1993] events in Moscow must, obviously, be put down to understandable emotions. The assessment given in the Duma lobbies by one of the leaders of the "intransigents" seems more accurate: The amnesty act was adopted in order to give a fillip to the country's domestic political situation which has become somewhat static since last October.

It must be admitted that the attempt was entirely successful. The domestic political situation in the country has livened up noticeably. But this fact yet again demonstrates quite graphically that the State Duma has focused exclusively on politics, and there are currently no grounds for hoping that it will get down to lawmaking.

To confirm this conclusion, it suffices to analyze the progress of the Duma debates 23 February. Virtually all those present, that is to say the leaders of the factions and deputies' groups, paid little heed to the topic of the day—the amnesty itself—mainly devoting their speeches to expounding political programs. It was therefore hard to shake off the impression that you were attending the launch of a presidential election campaign. Indeed, the time is already ripe for this campaign to begin, and it can be assumed that it was this fact which impelled a number of Duma factions to be so persistent in bringing to a successful conclusion the solution to the problem of an amnesty for people who hold the same views as they do.

The organizers' main target, judging by information provided by factions on the left, is not the president and the government, although, needless to say, they will not be left in peace. The same G. Zyuganov who called for civil peace demanded a change of government. The main objective, however odd it may seem if we bear in mind the LDPR faction's initiative proposing the combination of a political and economic amnesty in a single decree (this formula consequently became one of the main reasons for the triumph of the amnesty's supporters), was to knock one of the favorites—V. Zhirinovskiy—out of the presidential elections, which are just beginning. The united opposition has acquired the chance to have a popular leader and can correspondingly count on the support of a significant proportion of LDPR supporters. It seems that V. Zhirinovskiy himself is perfectly well aware of this fact, but he is obliged to go for broke, so to speak.

Thus, in the opinion of most observers, if the leaders of the defenders of the White House were to be released, a desperate leadership struggle would unfold on the political left wing. And this could not fail to have an impact on the unity and strength of the ranks of Communists and patriots.

Consequently there is every reason to think that the same factors will encourage concentration on the right wing of the political spectrum. And Gaydar's embryonic party has the opportunity to become much more than an ephemeral political structure.

At the same time, as the course of the 23 February Duma session showed, the niche in the center between the two wings which has remained vacant for some time has apparently already been filled.

There is every reason for thinking that the package of documents adopted by the Duma, which includes the decree on the political amnesty, was passed mainly with the assistance of the PRUA [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] faction. It was the rapid departure of this faction from the right wing which guaranteed the supporters of the amnesty the necessary advantage of just over 33 votes. Moreover, the obvious harmony between the Memorandum on Accord adopted by the Duma, which acted as pretty packaging for the decree on the political amnesty, and the PRUA faction's announcement published a few days previously on its civil reconciliation initiative, gives cause to suggest that S. Shakhray actively participated in the preparation of that very package of documents which included the decree on the political amnesty.

In the opinion of a number of observers, this proves that S. Shakhray has finally broken away from the presidential team and that he was unsuited for the prime minister's political team, which he has been ardently seeking to join of late. Obviously, the quest for new political allies led S. Shakhray to the Duma, where his rapid rapprochement with Speaker of the House I. Rybkin, who has switched to centrist stances, is not going unnoticed. It is sufficient to cite the example of the appointment of Shakray's close friend A. Boykov as leader of the Duma apparatus despite severe resistance from the Communists, the agrarians, and Zhirinovskiy's supporters. Thus it is difficult to shake off the impression that the leader of the PRUA faction intends to embark on the path taken by R. Khasbulatov in order to implement his political aims: Namely, with the speaker's help, to seize control of the Duma apparatus and, using it, to form on the basis of factions gravitating toward the center if not a majority, then a strong and, most importantly, manageable group of deputies.

All of this ultimately leads to the conclusion that the majority of Duma politicians will continue exclusively to

resolve their own political issues, to fight for victory in the presidential races, for instance. Work on laws in this situation has every chance of being consigned to oblivion.

And this, in turn, means that the Memorandum on Accord, the need for whose adoption was accepted by the Duma majority by dint of its support for the political amnesty, is unlikely to function. At any rate, the speeches by a number of faction leaders gave no cause to conclude that they intend to implement the ideas expounded in the memorandum.

Rybkin To Join Presidential Council

LD0103140794 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1340 GMT 1 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Mar—Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued a resolution today to make Ivan Rybkin, chairman of the State Duma, an additional member of the Presidential Council for personnel policy. This was announced today by the press service of the Russian president.

Zhirinovskiy Denies War Propaganda Charges

LD0103115994 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1125 GMT 1 Mar 94

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 1 March—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy has totally denied all accusations of propagandizing war during questioning by a military procurator. On Monday evening he was questioned by a procurator of the Main Military Procuracy, which is conducting the Zhirinovskiy case. The LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] leader denied that his book, "The Last Dash South," and other printed or verbal speeches called for war, combat actions, and the annexation of other states to Russia.

Earlier, on 25 February, Irina Kulikova, vice president of the Aesthetics Association of the Russian Academy of Sciences, was summoned to the Main Military Procuracy for questioning. She is the author of a book on the LDPR leader, "The Zhirinovskiy Phenomenon," assisted in putting together "The Last Dash South," and, in the opinion of observers, is a spiritual mentor of Vladimir Volfovich. Irina Kulikova also denied that in "The Last Dash South" or other printed or verbal speeches Zhirinovskiy had called for war or violence.

It was earlier reported that a criminal case had been instituted under Article 71 of the Russian Criminal Code, "Propagandizing war in any form," against Vladimir Zhirinovskiy by the Procurator General's office after numerous requests from citizens were made to law enforcement bodies and the Central Electoral Commission in connection with their having seen calls for war in publications and speeches by the LDPR leader. The Main Military Procuracy has been charged with conducting the Zhirinovskiy case.

Assembly Deputies Comment on Yeltsin Message

PM0103110194 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Feb 94 p 1

[Nadezhda Garifullina feature comprising statements by Mikhail Poltoranin, "Russia's Choice" State Duma deputy, and Viktor Stepanov, Federation Council deputy and chairman of the Republic of Karelia Supreme Soviet: "Question to Deputies: What Do You Think of the President's Message?"]

[Text]

The Regions Will Save Russia

Mikhail Poltoranin, "Russia's Choice" State Duma deputy:

It seems to me that on this occasion the president tried, like never before, to analyze the current situation in the country in depth. For some people this seemed to be a departure from the reforms policy, for others there seemed to be nothing new in the message, and still others said there were more statements than proposals in it. I, having an insider's knowledge of everything and following the president's thoughts step by step, can see that the report proved to be difficult for the president and I would say that he came out with it too late—he should have made it two years ago.

Without boasting and claiming more for myself than I should, I can say that I said similar things at Russian Government and Presidium sessions in February-March 1992. I said then: There are two ways of converting to a market economy. One way is to open the sluice gates, but we have to determine how much we can open them. Here, having worked out a program of structural restructuring for industry and created a modern doctrine for the Russian Armed Forces, leaving part of the military-industrial complex's plants under this doctrine and the international arms market—let us say about 40 percent, with 60 percent undergoing conversion, an effective tax policy program would have to underpin all that which would stimulate the productive forces' development. This is what "opening the sluice gates" meant.

Then there is the second model—you blow up the dam, that is there is a chaotic transition to market economics. You blow up the dam, pressure is released, and absolutely everything is washed away—be it useful or not, then you sort everything out. At that time I warned that if we started down the second path—and we did actually start down the second path and blew the dam—we would just the same be forced to follow the first model after a couple of years, but by that time we will be swallowing or being swallowed up by the mire we have gotten into. In principle this is what has happened. But Gaydar is not guilty of this. Gaydar was in general in agreement with this level of regulation back then, but he lacked a team. Those people who criticize Gaydar today—Shokhin and others—are culpable precisely because they did not manage to carry out the modeling while they occupied key posts. Several models

should have been demonstrated, then we should have forecast where we would be, and only then should we have acted.

But everything happened as God had ordained it. The president was to bring into the government more people from the provinces...but he gave in to pressure from Shokhin's team—they said that they would not accept anybody into the government, their team, then this government in general began to represent a sect. This factional policy gradually led to what we have today.

I fear very much that the president's speech will serve as a kind of sign that we should reject the reforms and go into reverse. This is no longer possible as going into reverse is suicide for Russia, a path back to where we have come from. I do not call this system totalitarian or anything else. It was simply a system where the flywheel of the cost-led economy turned with terrible force, sucking all the strength out of people and using up all natural resources and so on. But it is our misfortune that this flywheel continues to turn today. People work but they are told: We will not pay your wages. But his cannot happen! It might end in an outburst. Therefore, the government has today been forced to turn on the printing presses, turn on the currency-issuing mechanism, and put out the flames. But, by switching on the currency-issuing mechanism, the government, the Central Bank, and our authorities in general are beginning to provoke hyperinflation. As the saying goes, go left and you'll lose your horse; go right and you'll lose your life. The government is in this most difficult of positions today.

I consider that we have no alternative route today. In order to survive, we will certainly have to jettison our gold and diamond reserves, and we will possibly have to sell several sources of major concessions to save the country from the threat of impending disaster.

The most important thing—which I also mentioned two years ago—is that we should devolve some functions of the federal authorities to the regional level. We should not give them political power but economic power, power of management. Therefore, it is necessary to reduce the the apparatus in Moscow by a factor of 25-30 and send it there. Then the regions will save Russia for us, I assure you. [Poltoranin ends]

Specific Steps Awaited

Viktor Stepanov, Federation Council deputy and chairman of the Republic of Karelia Supreme Soviet:

In his speech the president only set out the points in his message to the Federal Assembly. Even a cursory analysis of the message's 100-page text shows that the proposals in this document with regard, among other things, to problems of the economic reform, strengthening federalism, and the development of the market go much further here than in the form they were presented in the Kremlin.

The president called on society for reconciliation and accord in 1994; however, without the economy becoming revived, that is revived and not stabilized, inasmuch as protectionism is required at the level of surgical intervention, Russia's economy cannot be saved. If there are still discount-credit rates of more than 200 percent from the Central Bank, if the attitude toward rural areas is still so irresponsible—after all the peasants have not yet been paid the astronomical debt of 3 trillion due them—it will hardly be possible to talk of reviving the economy.

Frankly, I expected more precise and specific targets for the government with regard to the economy's revival in the president's speech. In particular, there should, in my opinion, have been a statement about the undesirability of changing prices for energy sources this year, because our producers—whatever form of ownership they enjoy—will not manage to get used to the new prices.

The president went on to emphasize in his message that the tax burden is fairly large and that it is necessary to change taxation policy. But again, logic would dictate that specific steps should be initiated by the president himself; after all, as recently as 22 December he signed an edict which actually proposes raising taxes for producers—whatever form of ownership they enjoy—and simply makes them bankrupt. In the context of enterprises becoming bankrupt, and thousands of workers simply beginning to live by begging, it will, perhaps, be very difficult to talk of national accord.

Economic Issues

Funding Threatens Broadcasts in Former Republics

LD2502191394 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Russian radio and television broadcasts in the near abroad could be halted soon, because in practice no funds are being allocated from the Russian budget for this purpose. A RIA correspondent was told this by Sergey Yerofeyev, director for international links at the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company. He said that in line with existing global practice, a country or a specific television and radio station broadcasting a program within its territory from another state must not only itself accept the expenditure involved, but often also pay considerable money for the right to relay these programs. In the territories of the former Union everything is the other way around.

Except for Turkmenistan, Belarus, and certain other CIS countries, which have assumed responsibility for the expenditure involved, the other states are producing uncertainty by their statements that they cannot pay for the reception of Russian television and radio broadcasts.

Yeltsin Creates Financial-Budget Department

LD2802210394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1853 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on Monday creating a new presidential financial-budget department within his administration.

According to the presidential press service, the department will supply the president with information and analytical assistance in the sphere of state finances, budget, insurance, prices, credits and money circulation.

The new body will also prepare practical recommendations on issues of finances and monetary policy.

Igor Moskovskiy was appointed head of the presidential financial-budget department, the press service said.

Moskovskiy Named Head

MK0103125094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 1 Mar 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Russian President's Finance-Budget Administration in the Making"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin signed an edict yesterday on the formation of a finance-budget administration of the Russian Federation president within the head of state's staff. The new subdivision "is being created for the information and analytical support of the Russian president's activity in the area of statewide finances, budget, insurance, pricing, credit relations, and money circulation, as well as for preparing practical recommendations on conceptual and strategic questions of the finance-budget, taxation, monetary, and hard currency problems." Igor Moskovskiy was appointed its head.

Military Issues

Armed Forces To Be Reorganized

LD2802133894 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1240 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Feb—All forms of the Armed Forces of Russia without exception will be subjected to internal reorganization aimed at reducing them in the near future. This was stated today by Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces of Russia, replying to a question from the ITAR-TASS correspondent regarding the fate of anti-aircraft defense, the Navy, and other structures of the Defense Department. He did, however, point out specifically that the Ministry of Defense is not yet "ready to bring all the arms of the forces into a single integrated structure." Any reshaping will, in the opinion of the military leader, invariably bring in its wake disruption of the administration system, which must not be permitted.

CIS Officers Transfer to Russian Forces

MK2502092094 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 25 Feb 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Enemy Troops Go Over to the Russian Side Without a Single Shot"]

[Text] MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS has learned form reliable sources that the officer corps of the Russian Armed Forces grew by 3,000 men in 1993 at the expense of the Armed Forces of CIS countries.

Officers from these armies leave the service to sign up immediately with the Russian Armed Forces. For instance, over 1,000 officers deserted the Kazakhstani Army for the Russian one; from Belarus, 800 officers; and from Ukraine, 1,000. For the most part, these are Air Force pilots and Missile Troops servicemen. They have been lured into the Russian Army by higher wages.

It is expected that this year the flow of deserters, particularly from Kazakhstan, will grow, not drop. In Kazakhstan, they have started levying income taxes on servicemen and stripped them of some of their former benefits.

Federal Assembly

Duma Chairman Receives Released Prisoner

LD2802192094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1516 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Feb—Journalists noticed today that one of those freed from the Lefortovo prison, Andrey Dunayev, was in the State Duma. He went to the 18th floor where the office of Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin is situated.

For a comment on this fact one can quote Georgiy Satarov, the Russian Federation president's aide, who said today that after speaking to Ivan Rybkin, it became clear to him that the chairman of the chamber and its deputies feel that they are responsible for the behavior of those whom they had freed. In order to preserve their reputation of supporters of reforms, the Duma leaders are apparently trying to obtain promises of trustworthiness from the organizers of the October events in Moscow.

Text of State Duma Amnesty Decree

PM2802153794 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Feb 94 First Edition p 5

["Decree of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma on Declaring a Political and Economic Amnesty" signed by I.P. Rybkin, chairman of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma, and dated Moscow, 23 February 1994]

[Text] With a view to national reconciliation and to achieving civil peace and accord, in accordance with Article 103 Part 1 Point "f" of the Russian Federation Constitution, the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma decrees:

1. All criminal cases being processed by investigators and cases not examined by the courts be terminated with respect to persons facing criminal proceedings:

a) with regard to the events of 19-21 August 1991 connected with the formation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency (SCSE) and with participation in its activities;

b) with regard to the clash between demonstrators and the personnel of internal affairs organs 1 May 1993 in Moscow;

c) over participation in the events of 21 September-4 October 1993 in Moscow connected with the publication of the Russian Federation president's edict No 1400 of 21 September 1993 "On Stage-by-Stage Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation" and opposition to its implementation, regardless of how these actions may be described according to articles of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

2. Persons sentenced for actions envisaged by Point 1 of the present decree are to be released from punishment.

3. The following are to be released from punishment in the form of incarceration and also from punishments not involving incarceration:

a) persons sentenced for crimes envisaged by Article 88 Part 1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code;

b) persons sentenced for crimes envisaged by Article 92 Part 1 and Part 2 of the RSFSR Criminal Code;

c) persons sentenced for crimes envisaged by Article 170 Part 1, Article 171 Part 1, and Articles 172 and 175 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

4. All criminal cases being processed by investigators and cases not examined by the courts are to be terminated and persons sentenced under Article 92 Part 3, Article 93 Part 2 and Part 3, and Article 93-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code for the embezzlement of state and public property on a large or especially large scale are to be released from punishment provided that the aforementioned crimes were committed during the period before the elimination of the USSR (before December 1991, inclusive), aside from those who were sentenced for the embezzlement of state and public property by means of larceny, theft, robbery, or fraud.

5. The processing of all investigations and cases not examined by the courts regarding crimes committed by the persons listed in Point 3 is to be terminated before the entry into force of the present decree.

6. Points 3-4 of the present decree do not extend to the following convicted persons:

a) persons with previous convictions for premeditated crimes and sentenced again to incarceration for premeditated crimes;

b) recidivists who are deemed especially dangerous;

c) malicious violators of the terms governing the serving of their sentences;

d) persons previously released from places of incarceration by amnesty or pardon who have committed another premeditated crime.

7. Persons who, in addition to punishment for a crime, have been ordered to undergo compulsory treatment for alcoholism, drug addiction, or venereal diseases and who are subject to release from punishment under the present decree are to be amnestied at the end of their full course of treatment.

8. The decree applies to persons sentenced by Russian Federation courts, and also USSR courts.

9. This decree enters into force the moment it is published. Points 1 and 2 of the decree are to be implemented immediately. Points 3, 4, and 8 are to be implemented within six months under the procedure laid down by the decree "On Declaring an Amnesty in Connection With the Adoption of the Russian Federation Constitution," and Point 4 of the present decree is to be implemented by the courts.

[Signed] I.P. Rybkin, chairman of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma
[Dated] Moscow, 23 February 1994
No 65-1 GD

Rybkin's 23 Feb Speech on Amnesty

PM2802183194 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Feb 94 First Edition p 5

[Speech delivered by Russian State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin to 23 February State Duma sitting: "Ivan Rybkin: We Do Not View the Separation of Powers As Meaning Alienation, Still Less Rivalry Between Them"]

[Text] Esteemed Colleagues! The first six weeks of our difficult work are ending, the hopes people have pinned on us are great, and these hopes have been vindicated. Russia's Fifth State Duma is swiftly and confidently joining in the country's political life: motley, not entirely intelligible, with its own complex and sometimes audacious character.

What do people expect of it, what are its intentions and commitments? Do they match society's mood and aspirations? What place will the State Duma occupy in the Russian system of power and what will be its fate? After all, the fate of its four prerevolutionary predecessors was not always enviable, and the same goes for its immediate predecessors—the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and Congress of People's Deputies.

Newspapers, the radio, television, analysts, and political scientists are edgy, voters are perturbed, and deputies themselves are suffering. Today we must provide direct, frank answers to these questions. And above all, the Duma has no intention of merely being an observer of the course of events, the Duma intends to work.

Point one. The Duma is completing its organizational process and would already have completed it were it not for certain difficulties with the "Procrustean bed" of the site of its residence. It is an impermissible luxury now to

lose tempo in work, to waste the time allotted to the Duma, and, most importantly of all, to waste the mighty human and intellectual potential of the deputies elected with hope and great belief by Russians 12 December last year by failing to call upon it. Nevertheless, the deputies' factions and groups and the 23 committees have joined in work on the key spheres of creative lawmaking—the urgent problems of the economy and domestic and foreign policy—with unhurried expert analysis, open parliamentary hearings, and pithy and turbulent debates.

Point two. The State Duma publicly says today that it does not see the separation of powers as meaning alienation between them, still less rivalry, bitterness, and even hostility. It is firmly convinced that in order to emerge from the crisis our motherland Russia needs civil peace, accord, tranquillity, and creation. It is precisely this kind of accord and collaboration between the president, government, Federation Council, State Duma, and Constitutional Court that Russians expect today, and keenly expect. They are waiting for the accord and interaction, mutual support, and respectful relations announced to the whole country and the whole world and professed in everyday work. Without this our presence here, in the country's highest power structures, becomes simply meaningless.

The first weeks of joint work are encouraging and inspire confidence, because this work has been supported by the common will of the president, the chairman of the government, the Federation Council, the State Duma, and the Constitutional Court. This has been noticed in Russia and beyond its borders, noticed with joy and relief, although life is still hard and complex. And this is precious. This is perhaps the main result of the small amount of work we have done over this short time.

Point three. The State Duma, spoiling the fun of many observers who were ready to watch a Russian-style gladiatorial battle, firmly intends to devote itself to legislative support for intelligent political, economic, and social reforms. Not much time is allotted for our lawmaking. Unfortunately, it runs to barely 20 calendar months. The stock of social patience is small and is running out. We have made our first stab at preparing a plan of lawmaking activity. It incorporates legislative proposals from the president, the government, the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, and the Superior Court of Arbitration, and also legislative initiatives from Federation components and the deputies of Russia's parliament.

What are our priorities here? First of all there is the package of new federal constitutional laws based on developing Russia's new Constitution, without which election of the next, sixth Duma and the other branches of power, and also their functioning and collaboration are inconceivable.

The second package is the package of economic laws along with strict control of the budget and the elaboration of a program of priority anticrisis measures in order to emerge from the all-embracing crisis. Progress along the road of significant, productive reforms understood by every Russian involving a change in ownership relations and the formation of a government for people is impossible without them.

At the same time the two packages of laws create the framework of a rule-of-law federative state—the basis for the activity of the next, sixth Duma—and affirm the rights and freedom of the individual as the supreme value of the state and society on the basis of the unshakability and state integrity of the Russian Federation. The latter must be stipulated firmly, confidently, and calmly in order not to create the slightest illusions in all manner and caliber of Russian separatists, who have not yet received a proper political and economic caution, and it is probably now time to do so.

In the same way it is time to adopt proper laws to curb the aggression of the criminal world while, however, giving even those who have once stumbled the opportunity, the chance to take part in the difficult transformations of the country by declaring an amnesty for persons convicted of economic crimes and by supporting the president's legislative initiative regarding an amnesty in connection with the adoption of the new Russian Federation Constitution. Moreover, in order to ensure civil peace and accord in society we should declare an amnesty for all participants in the events of 19-21 August 1991 and 1 May and 21 September-4 October 1993. Without this it is simply impossible to avoid suspicion and malicious, sometimes sly waiting for certain changes and a possible settling of scores—in order to emerge from the all-embracing crisis. We are simply doomed to accord.

Esteemed Deputies, the crisis being experienced by the country and society is multifaceted and all-embracing. It will be difficult to emerge from it. We need genuine consolidation of society and a kind of Russian social contract-accord with a coordinating role played by President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

A large group of young, vigorous economist deputies inside the Duma, with the support of Russia's economic schools, have completed in general outline the preparation of a consolidated program of priority measures to emerge from the grave crisis. This program is no secret to the members of the government. The program was presented in detail at parliamentary hearings and has been covered in the press. It would certainly become the basis for the future reorganization of the government as a government of people's trust and national accord, with the president playing an active coordinating role, based on a real and significant parliamentary majority possessing the requisite legitimacy, professionalism, and intellectual potential. The government's membership certainly does not necessarily have to be expanded to include deputies. The main thing is for its members to be professionals dedicated to the cause of reforms for the good of Russians. This would put a stop to the variations on the theme of what and whom the government and its chairman rely on in forming the cabinet. This would impart the desired stability to the executive branch of power while restoring the controllability of the country's economy, lowering the rate of

inflation [and] carrying out a number of pressing unpopular but urgent measures while evenly distributing the burden of the crisis among regions and social groups.

We have no time to waste on strife or petty arguments. We are entitled to work thoroughly and smoothly, and we must do so: the preparation of draft laws in our committees (essentially miniature parliaments proportionally representing all factions and groups), the coordination of positions in the Duma Council, where all factions and groups are also represented, the final adoption of draw laws at plenary sittings of the State Duma without cluttering up its time with petty, clever inessentials, which must be examined within the text of a law or outside it during the first two stages in preparing a draft law. Then the remaining 94 plenary sessions of the Duma will be productive and we will be able to fulfill our mission as a transitional parliament.

I have one more comment. We are forming the new working apparatus of the Russian State Duma. It must be stable [malosmenyayemyy] and adequate. Then the sixth Duma will inherit it in a good, effective condition. But there is one essential condition: In the State Duma it is the deputy who counts. This must be stated without arrogance and conceit. The Duma's working apparatus must assist the deputy in his effective work. If those who are seeking to join the apparatus have anything else in mind, they had better not seek to join it.

Esteemed Colleagues! In order to implement all this, which we have painfully arrived at and derived over these two and a half months, it is proposed to vote on and adopt as a package a State Duma decree on adopting a memorandum of accord on an amnesty in connection with the adoption of the Russian Federation Constitution, on an amnesty for certain crimes committed in the sphere of political and economic activity, and on deeming null and void the decision by the Russian Federation State Duma of 18 February on setting up a commission to investigate the causes and conditions of the events of 21 September-4 October 1994. Thank you, and I ask representatives of the factions to speak on this topic.

Zhirinovskiy Named Council of Europe Body Delegate

LD0103100394 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] The State Duma Council has formed a standing group of representatives to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. It will be headed by Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Duma International Affairs Committee. ITAR-TASS learned this from Valentin Kovalev, deputy chairman of the chamber. He said that 11 Duma deputies and seven members of the Federation Council will make up a single delegation from Russia's legislative body to the Parliamentary Assembly.

The Duma will be represented in this international organization by deputies including Aleksandr Dzasokhov, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, Gennadiy Zyuganov, Mikhail Lapshin, Arkadiy Murashev, and Irina Khakamada.

Regional Affairs

Aushev Wins Ingushetia Presidency by Landslide

MK0103103094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 1 Mar 94 p 2

[Natalya Gorodetskaya report under the "North Caucasus" rubric: "Ruslan Aushev Is Ingushetia President by Wide Margin, According to Preliminary Data"]

[Text] Elections for president and parliament, and a referendum on the republic's draft constitution were held in Nazran on 27 February. Despite Moscow's indifference to the elections and referendum in Ingushetia and the fact that it provided no money from the budget to pay for them, the required billion rubles, according to Batyr Taldiyev, chairman of the republican district electoral commission, had been found in the republic's coffers.

Seventy-five polling stations opened at 0800 that Sunday morning where 105,000 voters (without taking into account the Ingush people who came from North Ossetia during the Ossetia-Ingushetia armed conflict) came to express their will.

The Ingushetia presidency was contested by current President Ruslan Aushev and Bamatgirey Mankiyev, a former state farm director. According to preliminary data, Ruslan Aushev won by a landslide. This had not been doubted in principle if one thinks about the small artillery preparation for the presidential elections two weeks ago in which Ruslan Aushev declined to run for the presidency, saying that his motive was his unwillingness "to bear responsibility for a repeat escalation of tensions owing to the ineptness of some politicians," because, in his view, "the current policy would lead to a new flare-up of the Ossetia-Ingushetia conflict this April or May." The Ingush president has lately been sharply critical of the Russian Federation temporary administration in the Ossetia-Ingushetia conflict zone because, he thinks, it puts the brakes on the implementation of Boris Yeltsin's edict on a phased return of Ingush refugees to four population centers of North Ossetia's Prigorodnyy Rayon. In the wake of the president's dramatic statement, the majority of eligible Ingush voters unanimously decided, as a snap poll showed, that Ruslan Aushev "cannot be excused from the president's post, and he cannot go against the will of the people." He collected 70,000 votes in his support.

Ruslan Aushev voted yesterday for the republic's draft constitution and for 27 deputies for parliament. Mr. Aushev did not vote for president and vice president, thinking that "voting for himself is unethical."

The new president is to meet soon with the head of North Ossetia. The question of a possible meeting had already been taken up at the experts level. True, negotiations about the return of Ingush refugees to North Ossetia's Prigorodnyy Rayon would hardly be a simple matter because North Ossetia President Akhsarbek Galazov, who had the idea for the meeting, stated that the problem of normalization of relations between the republics is being forced

into a blind alley in which one of the sides (implying the North Ossetia side) is being pressured.

North Ossetia Ready for Talks With Ingushetia

LD2802153594 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] At a meeting of members of the Cabinet of Ministers, North Ossetian President Akhsarbek Galazov said he was ready for dialogue with Ingushetia President Ruslan Aushev. He said: We need to implement the presidential decree and the decision by the Russian Government on returning refugees to their places of abode on the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia. Galazov categorically ruled out the possibility of granting additional powers to the interim administration on the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia and, for the first time, called for the lifting of the state of emergency regime on part of the territory of North Ossetia.

Zhirinovskiy Appeals Court Ruling on Election Win

LD2802183094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, told Interfax that he had appealed Monday [28 February] against the ruling of the Shchyolkovo District Court, Moscow Region.

The court canceled the election result in the electoral district where Zhirinovskiy won the December 12 elections. The reason for the ruling is that a Yabloko bloc candidate resigned from the election race in favor of the Russia's Choice candidate but his name remained in the electoral bulletin.

International Affairs

Foreign Ministry Statement on Bosnian Incident

LD2802201794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1925 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] All parties must now focus on searching for the final way of settlement of the Balkan conflict by peaceful means, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's statement which was made on Monday due to the information on the 4 planes shot down in Bosnia, says. The planes must belong to Bosnian Serbs.

It was also pointed out that all possible provocations must be prevented and the resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council must be unconditionally carried out.

The situation in Bosnia is still under discussion, the press service told INTERFAX-UKRAINE.

Purpose of Kravchuk U.S. Visit Explained

LD2802152694 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1428 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] On 28 February, Anton Buteyko, adviser to the Ukrainian president on international affairs, commented on Leonid Kravchuk's visit to the United States to a UNIAN correspondent. In particular, Anton Buteyko said: "There is a change for the better in the attitude to Ukraine on the part of United States and other Western states. Previously they were interested only in the situation concerning nuclear weapons, whereas now they are interested in full-scale economic cooperation and assistance for Ukraine in connection with the economic crisis. The main aim of the visit is to raise both countries' economic relations to a new level. It is expected that a number of agreements will be signed: on the legal basis of Western investments, avoiding double taxation, and statements on economic and trade relations. Issues connected with Ukraine's fulfillment of the START I Treaty and with making the mechanism of granting American aid more concrete are also to be discussed. A meeting is planned with the leadership of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Their investments are to be included in the Ukrainian reforms."

Lysenko Spying Case Verdict Expected 28 Feb

AU2802152194 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 25 Feb 94 p 1

[Report by Bohdan Kushnir, MOLOD UKRAYINY special correspondent: "A Sad Finale"]

[Text] The trial of Anatoliy Lysenko, Ukraine's Security Service major from Mostyska, is about to be concluded. It is expected that on Monday, the chairman of the Warsaw Military District Court, Colonel Kasparczak, will announce the sentence.

The finale will be sad, but not for Anatoliy Lysenko, because even the procurator demanded a minimal punishment—five years imprisonment, whereas the Criminal Code article on espionage envisages between eight and 15 years imprisonment or capital punishment. Yet another small nuance. Perhaps, in anticipation that the judges may arrive at a "not guilty" verdict, the procurator asked that the episodes involving smuggler Janusz Bojarski be considered by the civilian court. This means that the spying case has burst like a soap-bubble. The Polish witnesses, driver Salata and military doctor Madej, confirmed that on that day, Lysenko was, indeed, taking his sick son for a medical consultation. During the court proceedings, there was an embarrassment: Mr. Salata felt unwell and was taken away by an ambulance.

Defense counsel Czeslaw Jaworski delivered a long speech. He spoke about Ukraine's cooperation in this case and stressed that Anatoliy Lysenko's acquittal would promote the establishment of good relations between Poland and Ukraine.

Anatoliy Lysenko's health is steadily deteriorating, and the few days that remain until Monday may be tragic for him. Even the court chairman emphasized that.

Let us wait and see what happens on Monday....

Security Service Chief Views Trial

LD2802201294 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1428 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Kiev—The trial of Major Anatoliy Lysenko, a staff member of the Mostiska customs house of the Security Service of Ukraine [SBU], continued in Warsaw on 28 February. Lysenko is accused of espionage. The prosecutor is demanding a five-year prison sentence for Lysenko.

Asked by a UNIAN correspondent to comment on the "Lysenko case", SBU Chairman Yevhen Marchuk said: "We have been trying for a long time now not to make any comment at all on this regrettable incident in mutual relations between our two neighboring, friendly states. I would like to say only that SBU Major Anatoliy Lysenko has nothing to do with our intelligence. He had no mission and went to Poland with his wife and children to attend to personal matters. The only thing that he may be rebuked for is that he went abroad without having waited for the SBU leadership's consent, thus acting in breach of service discipline. Our view is that the Polish special services' actions with respect to Lysenko were instigated by someone else: There probably are certain forces in Poland that do not want rapprochement between our friendly people. Nevertheless, we hope common sense will prevail".

Russia Builds 'Customs Passage' on Border

LD2802214194 Kiev UT-1 Television Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Excerpt] The press service of Ukraine's border troops has denied reports by some Ukrainian newspapers that Russia is allegedly building a so-called Berlin Wall at the border between Belgorod and Sumy and Kharkov oblasts. As a rule, there is no smoke without fire. So, a scan of the Russian press has straightaway made it evident that this

information arose from the head of the Belgorod Oblast administration's resolution on steps to implement the law of the Russian Federation of 1 April 1993 on the Russian Federation's state border. This resolution envisages the establishment of a border zone up to 5 km deep on the territories of a number of Belgorod Oblast rayons, with the depth of the zone to be measured from the former administrative border between the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, and the introduction of a border regime from as early as 1 January 1994.

So what is it that Russia is building?

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Regrettably, we failed to obtain information from officials, as both the leadership of the Grayvoron border post and Belgorod border detachment declined interviews. The builders, however, were more open.

[Unidentified interviewee] The construction of a customs passage between Ukraine and Russia is under way here. It is a complex of dwellings for border guards and border posts for the passage of motor transport.

[Correspondent] How intensive is the work being done here?

[Interviewee] Very intensive.

[Correspondent] When will you have to finish it?

[Interviewee] Well, some time at the end of March or beginning of April. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Kravchuk Meets Mitterrand's Representative

WS0103102794 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] Yesterday, President Leonid Kravchuk received Ms. (Anne Leuvergaunt), personal representative of French President Francois Mitterand. The visit came as a result of a recent telephone conversation between the Ukrainian and French presidents. Its purpose is to determine specific programs of cooperation between our countries. The meeting was attended by Michel Peissik, French ambassador in Ukraine.

Leonid Kravchuk presented his ideas about the development of Ukrainian-French relations. The Ukrainian president and the French president's personal representative agreed on a mechanism for devising and implementing specific projects and proposals that will later become the groundwork for negotiations soon to be conducted by a Ukrainian delegation that will visit Paris. Leonid Kravchuk reconfirmed his official invitation to French President Francois Mitterrand to visit Ukraine at a time convenient for him.

National Affairs

Cabinet Adopts Currency Regulations

AU2802165794 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 24 Feb 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Government Promises a New Currency Exchange Rate"]

[Text] A news conference was held to discuss the results of a Cabinet of Ministers meeting, which had to find ways of overcoming the payments crisis. In the opinion of observers, the top-level participation (two vice premiers—V. Yevtukhov and V. Landyk; ministers: of economy—R. Shpek, finance—H. Pyatachenko, and agriculture—Yu. Karasyk; chairman of Ukraine's National Bank V. Yushchenko; and chairman of the State Coal Industry Committee M. Surhay) is an obvious attempt to attach a positive image to the Cabinet of Ministers prior to discussing this issue at the Supreme Council session. As regards specific decisions, the meeting adopted three resolutions: On hard-currency regulation, on the introduction into circulation of bills of exchange, and on the revision of the taxation system, something that, as the members of government assert, will create that normative foundation which will make it possible to extricate the credits and finance system from the crisis. It is, in particular, envisaged that from now on, the currency exchange rates will be set on a weekly basis, and the enterprises will be allowed to sell at free prices 50 percent of their currency profit at currency auctions. With regard to the circulation of bills of exchange, according to V. Yushchenko, there may be bankruptcies of those enterprises which, after purchasing products, will not be able to pay. The new taxation system envisages levying taxes on the profit in 1995.

Press Service Interprets Kravchuk Statement

AU2802165894 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 25 Feb 94 p 1

[Undated "Statement by the Ukrainian Presidential and Cabinet of Ministers Press Service"]

[Text] During a meeting with representatives of the mass media organized at the request of Radio "Liberty" and the [German] magazine DER SPIEGEL, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, briefing the journalists on the political situation in Ukraine in connection with the forthcoming elections to power structures at all levels, said that he considered his participation in the early presidential elections set for 26 June 1994 inexpedient.

President Leonid Kravchuk justified his idea by the insufficient time for holding elections at all levels. It cannot be ruled out that the process of election and formation of supreme bodies of legislative and executive power may go beyond the time assigned for it and may overlap the course of early presidential elections and elections to local organs of power. This may lead to a vacuum of power, when the old Supreme Council is no more, a new one is not yet in existence, and Ukraine's Supreme Council, which might take upon itself the entire executive power, has not yet been formed. In this situation, the president alone may actually fulfill state functions. If he also participates in elections at that time, executive structures may collapse and control may be totally lost. This is the determining argument.

In view of the fact that the idea expressed in the aforementioned interview is being ambiguously commented upon both in Ukraine and abroad, the Ukrainian Presidential

and Cabinet of Ministers Press Service points out that the position expressed by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk was due to precisely that specific situation in the life of our society and state that took shape today and to its possible development in the near future.

Nuclear Plant Managers Brief Kravchuk

WS0103115694 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] At his own initiative, President Kravchuk met with directors of nuclear power plants [AES]. How do the plants work at this difficult time of deficits and meager funding? Will they manage to keep afloat? These were the question that worried the president. At the beginning of the meeting, Kravchuk said that nuclear power plants are Ukraine's salvation today. This phrase became the leading idea of the hour-long meeting. The meeting was attended by Directors Volodymyr Bronnykov, from the Zaporizhzhya AES; Volodymyr Korovkin, the Rivne AES; and Viktor Sapronov, the Khmelnytska AES. After outlining the situation at the stations, they centered on two issues—the drain of qualified experts and nuclear fuel supplies. The experts are fleeing to Russia, where salaries are much higher. As a temporary solution to this problem, the station managers asked the president to help reduce by 10 percent the income tax for AES key professionals—something that was done for coal miners. With the moratorium on the development of nuclear engineering being lifted, the industry got its second wind. Substantial credits are about to come from abroad. But how are we supposed to repay them? Should we pay with ecologically clean electric energy, a deficient commodity for Ukraine itself, or by transferring ownership of our atomic facilities to international companies? The solution of those complex questions requires profound analysis, the president said. Also discussed was the issue of whether Ukraine should have its own so-called nuclear fuel cycle that would consist of extracting, processing, enrichment of uranium, manufacturing of fuel rods, and burial of nuclear waste. After all, Ukraine has its own uranium. But is the country in a position to manage this today?

Volodymyr Bronnykov presented a report on a project to build U.S.-licensed dry fuel waste warehouses. Viktor Safronov briefed those present on experience gained from cooperation with foreign partners in providing the stations with modern equipment. Volodymyr Korovkin talked about the successful handling of the problem caused by the karst layer under the Rivne AES.

As a UKRINFORM correspondent reported, the meeting was quite useful and fruitful. Its final result was the president's edict on urgent measures related to nuclear power engineering.

Full TV Broadcasting Resumes

LD2802184994 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Ukrainian Acting Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy has instructed the ministries of communications and power engineering and Ukraine's TV and Radio Company to resume broadcasting TV programs in full throughout the territory of Ukraine. This decision was taken in response to requests to the Cabinet of Ministers by citizens.

I would like to recall that since the end of last year, all TV channels have only worked in the evening due to the energy shortage. An exception was made for the duration of the winter Olympic games.

President Meshkov Discusses First Moves

944K0746A Simferopol KRYMSKIYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Feb 94 p 1

[N. Gavrileva report on news conference given by President of Crimea Yuriy Meshkov with unidentified correspondents; place and date not given: "Edict No. 1 Is Not Yet Ready"]

[Text] **The second news conference of the president of Crimea was held after his visits to Kiev and Moscow. Because Yu. Meshkov had granted KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA a lengthy interview on his working trip to Russia, there were few questions on this subject from the assembled journalists.**

[Question] I would like, all the same, to get an answer from you: What are the main results of the visit?

[Meshkov] That to which we had aspired for several years was accomplished: preservation of the unity of the economy of the Republic of Crimea and Russia. All our problems met with the requisite understanding and the maximum possible support, and preliminary agreements were reached, and all that remains is to implement them. The main thing is that we are switching from declarations to action. I believe that we will all perceive the results of this switch very soon. The Republic of Crimea enjoys most favored nation status in Russia.

For example, specialists of the former Fourth Administration are prepared to supply the necessary equipment and make specialists available for medical treatment, primarily of children. I hope that they will be here next week to train our medical personnel on the spot.

[Question] Does the invitation to Ye. Saburov to take the office of vice premier indicate that you do not have your own team?

[Meshkov] Issues need to be decided to the maximum benefit of the Republic of Crimea. Appointing this person to this office is of the maximum benefit today.

[Question] And what will this "march from the Varangians to the Greeks" cost Crimea?

[Meshkov] A purely symbolic amount inasmuch as he is bringing everything necessary with him.

[Question] What will the directions of the economic reforms in Crimea be?

[Meshkov] The traditional ones—an equalization of the system of civil legislation in order that there be a legal foundation for the unity of our economies. We cannot ignore the processes already under way in Russia and which will necessarily take place in Ukraine.

[Question] What kind of mechanisms will be engaged for introducing the ruble in Crimea, and will it be introduced before summer?

[Meshkov] The problem of the use of the ruble in Crimea has preliminarily already been resolved, and the techniques and procedures will be determined later. It is vitally important that the matter be resolved before the start of the resort season.

[Question] What was Russia's attitude toward the request for the allocation of money for the program of the return of the Crimean Tatars?

[Meshkov] The application was accepted, and I know that there is the most heavyweight resolution possible in Russia. Actual names? We should best wait for the specific results.

[Question] People say: "A friendly calf suckles two mothers." May it be considered, following your visit to Moscow, that we have opted for one "mother"? Will we not lose out—after all, Clinton has promised Ukraine sizable assistance.

[Meshkov] I do not know whether the word "friendly" is compatible with the image that journalists have created for me. Ties only to Russia? Russia looks most favorably both on Crimea in general and on a solution of questions of the Crimean economy in particular, which, unfortunately, cannot yet be said of the persons who represent the Ukrainian economy, if there still is such. But this does not mean a demonstrative severance of economic ties to Ukraine; on the contrary, we will have more opportunities for expanding them.

[Question] Did you notify the president of Ukraine in any form of the trip to Moscow?

[Meshkov] No. It was a working visit for the resolution of specific economic problems—this did not go beyond the framework of pure economics, and for this reason I shall not be reporting on the work that was done to the president of Ukraine.

[Question] When will your apparatus be formed, and who will be a part of it?

[Meshkov] We have abandoned the word "apparatus," we prefer to speak of an "administration." Our principle is minimum composition with maximum professionalism. It now consists of two professors and the same number of generals—each a specialist in his own field. The comments in respect to the contacts that have been made by employees of the administration outside of Crimea have been more than positive. There have already been comments at the international level also.

We are taking the path of a minimum number of employees and maximum provision with energy and accounting equipment. Problems of communications and accounting equipment have been resolved with Russia, and this will signify unilateral assistance to the Republic of Crimea free of charge. Salaries are more than modest, and I tell each member of staff that they will lose out financially by switching to the administration.

[Question] There are rumors in Crimea concerning a new appointment at the Crimea Television and Radio Company....

[Meshkov] It is impermissible for state structures to be used to propagandize one's own personal beliefs.

[Question] Explain the situation involving the black Lincoln.

[Meshkov] [laughs] I learn about all the "movements" of the black Lincoln from the press. There has been no conversation with those intending to make a gift of it.

[Question] Is there a mechanism for permanent contacts with the Government of Russia?

[Meshkov] Yes, Crimea has been allocated... no, I shall not say yet. The mechanism is this: Trade and economic missions of the Russian Federation and also of its components—Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays and Rostov-na-Donu—will be opened in Crimea, and ours, in Russia; and also personal contacts, which were generated at the time of the visit.

[Question] Will the administration of the president not increase the bureaucratic machinery—and how will its appearance affect the size of the government?

[Meshkov] I believe that this will signify a sharp reduction in bureaucratic structures. I hope for a qualitative improvement in work—of both the administration and the government.

[Question] GOLOS UKRAINY reported that you were received neither by B. Yeltsin nor V. Chernomyrdin, and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA wrote that you were greeted in Kiev by two young persons unknown....

[Meshkov] A meeting had been arranged, but Boris Nikolayevich's illness prevented it taking place. The contacts with Zhirinovskiy were not planned. In Kiev the meeting was modest, as modest as could be; the negotiations took place in a friendly, but official atmosphere, and tension was sensed on both sides. Subsequently it was dispelled, and the discussion became more specific. But it simply could not be compared with the meeting in Moscow—in terms either of level or quality. Heaven and earth.

[Question] You have declared repeatedly that the Republic of Crimea will be a guarantor of a restoration of the rights of the Crimean Tatar people. What do you understand by these words?

[Meshkov] Primarily observance of the entire volume of civil rights that are declared and upheld by the international community. The Republic of Crimea is responsible

to its citizens. We sought 50 billion and obtained a positive resolution. I can confirm that the undertakings in respect to compensation for loss must be fulfilled, but not individually but on a legal basis.

[Question] What is your attitude toward men with shoulder boards and their social protection? Will a committee for servicemen be formed under the auspices of the president?

[Meshkov] Protection—to the extent that is guaranteed any citizen of the Republic of Crimea, particularly those with shoulder boards inasmuch as they are in the service of the state. As for a committee, I cannot yet say; it is not, I believe, a question of a committee but of the attitude toward the problems of servicemen, and they are being tackled, for example, by various structures, to which we have appealed with a request for assistance in the construction of housing for officers.

[Question] What kind of interaction do you have currently with the Council of Ministers, and who was in charge of Crimea during your week's absence?

[Meshkov] Normal, working interaction, except for the deplorable events you witnessed following the proclamation of the election results. I was not expecting this, to be honest. But we have negotiated the first difficult times, and the government has, on the whole, rendered the necessary support. Control of the situation was not lost, and in addition all the preliminary output of the previous negotiations in Kiev was continued. The duties of chairman of the Council of Ministers are being discharged—in conscientious and skilled fashion—by A. Franchuk.

[Question] Is a reform of the local authorities—the system of soviets—contemplated any time soon? If so, in which direction?

[Meshkov] This question has been determined by life itself, and it must be decided not in the plane of the elimination of the representative bodies but in the plane of changes in their purposes and tasks. This will mean, obviously, more professional and fewer representatives of the populace together with the local administration. If there are county councils in respectable old England, they are ordained for us by God himself.

[Question] Your understanding of freedom of speech?

[Meshkov] A journalist must do his professional duty: convey information, not express his personal viewpoint and on the strength of this invite people who will confirm it. I am prepared for the most impartial criticism. But what do the newspapers attributing to a person words he has never spoken have in common with this?

[Question] Has there been Edict No. 1, and to what is it devoted?

[Meshkov] There is a silent competition under way in the administration currently for the right to prepare the text of the first edict. The team handling interethnic matters will be the winner, it seems.

[Question] Judging by your interview in KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA, you are not disposed to reveal yourself completely, thereby evoking associations with the party nomenklatura, which you so hate. Is this an accident or a fledgling tradition?

[Meshkov] It is necessary to resort to Aesopian language in cases where your interlocutor does not give you the right to convey the content of the interview. At the same time it is improper not to answer the questions of a journalist inquiring after the content of the interview. Let us consider that this will not become a tradition.

Crimean Official Opposes Separate Budget

AU0103121394 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 25 Feb 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "A Meeting of the Crimean Supreme Council Presidium"]

[Text] The Crimean Supreme Council Presidium has held a meeting. Opening it, speaker of the Crimean parliament Nikolay Bagrov said that the situation on the peninsula is complex and that "we need to create normal conditions for the president's work." Bagrov negatively assessed Ukraine's Supreme Council's decision to hold elections to local state authorities on 26 June, the same date as the [Ukrainian] presidential elections. Bagrov proposed that this question be raised at the session of the Crimean parliament. The proposal by Viktor Bobylev, a member of the Presidium, that the moratorium on holding a referendum on the Crimean Republic's independence be lifted did not meet with support.

The Crimean parliament's speaker touched upon the discussion at the session of the question of forming the Crimean Republic's budget. "If, today, the city [as published] must receive an income of 700 billion karbovantsi, the question of the budget will not be at all simple," Bagrov pointed out. "I very much fear that once Ukraine has given us the chance to form our own budget independently and does not give us anything, we will not be able to survive."

Asked by journalists whether the Crimea will be able to become a subject of international law, Bagrov replied: "This topic must be removed from the agenda. Economic relations are one thing, but political relations are something entirely different."

Crimean President Yuriy Meshkov took part in the work of the Crimean Supreme Council Presidium.

Crimea-Ukraine Economic Relations Viewed

944K0747A Simferopol KRYMSKIYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 94 p 1

[Interview with S.A. Yefimov, director of the Center for Regional Development of Crimea, by O. Kulakovskaya, under the "Economics: The Market and Reforms" rubric; place and date not given: "Shall We Begin From the Beginning?"]

[Text] Slowly hurrying—this is probably how one would characterize the movement the current government of Crimea is constantly attempting to carry out in the fight to attain Crimean statehood. Have the main reference points changed? Will we not have to go back to the beginning in connection with our establishment of the institution of the presidency? These questions constitute the leading theme of conversation between our correspondent and S.A. Yefimov, director of the Center for Regional Development of Crimea.

[Kulakovskaya] Sergey Alekseyevich, a certain stage in the lives of Crimeans has been completed. We have "undergone" a presidential election and demonstrated a high level of civic self-consciousness. Exhibiting a "high-flown style," we have passed the examination for statehood. But our problems have not become fewer as a result of this. In fact, with regard to problems demanding immediate resolution....

[Yefimov] Indeed, construction of the Crimean state has entered its concluding phase. A president has been elected. In the next two or three months, now in accordance with the Constitution in effect, a government will be formed and for the first time elections to the Crimean Supreme Council will be held.

As far as the activity of the Crimean president is concerned, here two paths are possible. The first is to begin everything on a clean slate, as they say, considering that nothing existed prior to this; the second—to provide a continuity with respect to whatever positive undertakings have already managed to be achieved. I must note that the president of Crimea did not permit himself to be lured away by the first path—extremely advantageous to official Kiev, but instead chose the second, a path firmly sanctioned in the practice of the world community.

[Kulakovskaya] Well, since we are talking about continuity, one basic question in this regard is the matter of reconciling budget relations with the Ukrainian side. An agreement on this matter was signed in December between the Governments of Ukraine and Crimea. This evoked feelings approaching euphoria even as early as the days of the presidential campaign, as if to say—we have succeeded in resolving a key issue, now.... Well, what does happen now?

[Yefimov] Well now, for the hundredth time we can assert that the Ukrainian leadership has never learned to fulfill its obligations. Mr. Zvyahilskyy signs an agreement with Crimea with one hand, and with the other—the draft Law on the Ukraine Budget for 1994, which automatically cancels the mutual agreements.

Naturally, the Ukrainian Supreme Council is also acting as if no such agreement were concluded, and has secured this in the Law on the Ukraine Budget—this in spite of the fact that the agreement was concluded in accordance with the Law of Ukraine on demarcation of powers between Crimea and Ukraine.

So what do we see as the result? The Government of Ukraine is not fulfilling the obligations it has assumed. It is violating its very own laws and instigating the parliament to do the same. We see a not very pretty picture. I believe the people of Crimea must be aware of this shameful practice on the part of Ukraine's upper echelons of power.

The question of mutual budget relations is a key issue for Crimea, for without it virtually no transformations in the economic sphere can take place. It is precisely for this reason that this was a topic of discussion at the first meeting between the presidents of Crimea and Ukraine. As a fundamental issue, it will remain a topic of subsequent talks. The Government of Ukraine must immediately guarantee fulfillment of this agreement, and with the aim of ensuring an integral system of administration and financing, it must change the jurisdiction of the State Price Inspectorate, Tax Inspectorate, and Control and Auditing Directorate of the Ukraine Ministry of Finance for the Crimean Republic, so that these fall under the appropriate structures of the government of Crimea.

[Kulakovskaya] Aside from budget relations, as of today we see that property relationships are not settled either....

[Yefimov] Quite right. This is a second key issue that requires immediate examination. We have to recognize that the problem of demarcation of property between Ukraine and the Crimean Republic remains an open one to this day partially because the Crimean Supreme Council made an unfortunate decision at one time. The necessary step was not to ask the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, but rather to draw up an appropriate document ourselves and then work on settling aspects in dispute. This was not done, unfortunately. For half a year now, the question has been in a state of suspension. The Ukrainian side is making every effort to "shake it up."

[Kulakovskaya] Well, this is understandable—he who is stronger dictates the conditions....

[Yefimov] I believe that any relationship, especially one on the state level, must be built on the basis of mutual understandings. The entirety of world practical experience shows this. It is impossible to attain anything good when one ignores the interests of the other side. The results of the presidential election in Crimea is a clear example of this. You cannot show disdain for the will of the people. Even the most ultranationalistic forces of Ukraine are simply obliged to deal with it.

[Kulakovskaya] Yes, but they are not accustomed to dealing with it....

[Yefimov] It does not matter—they must be trained. The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers is always attempting to "squash" the issue of demarcation of property when it examines lists of facilities. No, it is necessary here to look for common approaches, common principles, according to which we can act. One of these, which I proposed and which found support in the government of Crimea: that all facilities located in the territory of Crimea and subject to privatization in accordance with Ukrainian legislation in effect constitute property of the Republic of Crimea. Funds obtained from privatization must not be dissipated—they must serve to promote the welfare of the

people of Crimea, being directed toward the implementation of one socioeconomic program or another.

All facilities operating primarily in the interests of the region must also be placed within the category of property of the Crimean Republic. While for those facilities that do not fall under these categories, mutually agreed upon decisions must be taken. Here is where a facility-by-facility approach is possible.

[Kulakovskaya] What if talks on these issues do not yield positive results?

[Yefimov] In that event, the Supreme Council of Crimea must independently draw up a document respecting demarcation of state property. In doing so, it will confirm the zero-option decision adopted in 1991. We must be consistent in our actions. We have shown respect and proposed joint efforts, but if we see no movement in response, we have the right to take independent steps.

[Kulakovskaya] But will these be acknowledged as constitutional?

[Yefimov] Absolutely. This is purely a question of economics. Many in Kiev are finally finding it necessary to rid themselves of nationalistic narrowmindedness and avoid confusing separatism with bread.

[Kulakovskaya] Sergey Alekseyevich, do you think the presidential election, having convincingly secured the statehood of Crimea, gives us the right to be more persistent in looking after our interests?

[Yefimov] Without a doubt. Crimea has today become a more active entity, deservedly acquiring this right. As far as to what extent it will be exercised—I will not be the judge. But the realm of prospective opportunities has broadened significantly.

Social Justice Party Position Given

944K0747B Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 94 p 1

[Interview with V.I. Korobov, chairman of the Social Justice Party of Crimea, by L. Pirozhenko, under the "Parties and Social Movements" rubric; place and date not given: "Another Party"]

[Text] **The Social Justice Party of Crimea (SJPC), registered as No. 13 by the Ministry of Justice of Crimea on 7 February 1994, has been presented in the conference hall of the Crimean Consumers Union.**

[Korobov] The goal of our activity is to protect the economic, political, and social interests of all citizens of Crimea, regardless of nationality, religious beliefs, or social affiliation. Here we are primarily concerned with the socially unprotected segments of society and those engaged in the production and processing of agricultural output, those who are striving to saturate the consumer market of the republic with essential commodities and foodstuffs.

[Pirozhenko] Vladimir Ilich, V.M. Negulyayev and G.N. Prigornitskiy were selected as your deputies. In the Presidium we have A.V. Oleynikov, N.M. Bramatkin, and other well-known people who work in the system of the Crimean Consumers Union. Does this not mean that the SJPC is an occupationally affiliated party, that is, affiliated with workers in the consumer cooperatives?

[Korobov] No, it does not. The party charter states quite definitively that our party is established not according to an occupational principle, but rather a territorial one. Any individual can become a member who agrees with its program and is prepared to support and implement it. Though it is true indeed that consumer cooperative workers brought the party into existence—lower-echelon consumer cooperative workers.

[Pirozhenko] How large is the SJPC membership?

[Korobov] Right now we have over a thousand applications, and they continue to come in. Primary party organizations have been established in all the rayons. This demonstrates that our new organization enjoys mass popular support and that its aims and objectives conform to the interests of the workers. The Social Justice Party of Crimea intends to become a party of the parliamentary variety, joining the membership of the Supreme Council. It will support the programs of other parties and join with them in unified blocs if their social objectives are similar.

Columnist Criticizes Kravchuk's 'Weak Will'

WS2802173094 Kiev RADA in Ukrainian 24 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by Volodymyr Yavorskyy: "A Man of Uncommon Intelligence and Weak Will"]

[Excerpt] A man is judged by his deeds and not by his words, because it is a man's deeds that reveal his nature.

Keeping this in mind, let us try to portray the nature of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. This is important, because he personifies the entire current Ukrainian leadership—the union between democrats and postcommunists. As everybody knows, the former as well as the latter had been rejecting the idea of Ukrainian statehood before the "reconstruction," and became advocates of independence only under the pressure of circumstances—the collapse of the USSR. Therefore, knowing who Kravchuk really is, we will know where Ukraine is going, and what we should expect in the future.

President Kravchuk seems to be a man who is able to view issues comprehensively. One should be particularly alarmed by his speeches, in which he consistently explains his opinions, covering any acute issues with apt metaphors and arguments, as a result of which the issue no longer seems as acute as before.

Many people ask themselves: Why do people like the president's speeches? The answer is simple. There is a certain probability in his words. This is merely a probability, not the truth. Additionally, it is hard to avoid the

feeling that his reasoning is meant to be admired. Moreover, it is meant to satisfy all people.

Therefore, while estimating the president, an open-eyed man experiences a harassing duality of feelings: sympathy on the one hand and dissatisfaction on the other. The first feeling is induced by the president's intelligence, the second one—by the lack of clear goals.

The events of the last three years have convinced many people of the certain incongruity and even vulnerability of Kravchuk. It must be pointed out that this incongruity is characteristic of the entire current leadership of Ukraine, whose best representatives, though they represent the right way of thinking, actually lack an essential element of spirit—the ability to see the main goal and consistently pursue it. This is why estimates of various democratic or postcommunist leaders imply an opinion about their affectation and even insincerity. Despite their words, suspicions occur that those are not their words, that their beliefs are far from these words, and that none of them will keep or is even able to keep their promises. Such a feeling is induced, first of all, by the lack of the above-mention element.

There is no doubt that this element is the strength of will. Kravchuk and the entire democratic-postcommunist Ukrainian leadership lack strength of will. This makes Ukraine's leaders incongruous and ephemeral. They resemble people who bargain at the market with a serious look but have no money in their pockets.

Summarizing the above, it can be said that Kravchuk has gifted, uncommon intelligence but also a very weak will. His activities in the offices of Supreme Council chairman and Ukrainian president have confirmed this.

Let us more carefully examine the internal mechanism of behavior of the current Ukrainian president.

All his "successes," which actually reduce to a masterful balancing of Ukraine's political temporariness, are exclusively based on his natural slyness and ability to predict people's moods. He bets everything on intensifying tactical steps and accomplishing superficial tasks, while avoiding resolution of any fundamental issues, which, of course, may lead to minor victories, but which will never result in a global victory. These are the typical deeds of a weak-willed man, who is afraid of everything great.

It is evident that the president does not have any state-building program. Since he does not know what he wants, what should he do, and where should he go; he is merely forced to respond to external stimuli. This is the only thing he does.

President Kravchuk's activities have explicitly testified to the fact that he is unable, and does not want, to accomplish great tasks connected with the development of the Ukrainian state. Probably, he does not even realize that this is an important matter. This is why he has neither a concept of state nor an approximate plan of action. A man who is not going to do anything does not need any plans.

Such an assessment of President Kravchuk is not groundless. The fact that he catastrophically neglects the factor of strength is significant. If someone wants to achieve something, he usually accumulates his strength. Any task is doomed to failure without strength. This relates to any task, particularly, the building of a state.

If the Ukrainian president realized the importance of strength in state-building processes, all of his energy would focus on forming such strength. This means that he would undertake intensive work aimed at increasing the number of people devoted to the idea of Ukrainian independence, that he would support—at the state level—all activities aimed at boosting patriotic attitudes, and that he would mercilessly terminate all antinational activities. In such a case, massive patriotic-educational work would be conducted in our country, and anti-Ukrainian propaganda would be banned. All this would have to be carried out within reasonable boundaries, respecting reality, however consistently and steadfastly.

As a matter of fact, the president would have to make a clear ideological choice, and, having divided the people into two sectors—supporters and enemies of independent Ukraine—he would bet on the first one. Understanding that the fate of the Ukrainian state would depend on the strength of the supporters of independent Ukraine, the president would make all possible efforts to strengthen them. A patriotically educated population is the foundation of a state; it is its force that creates and maintains a state. If there is no such foundation, there is also no sense to deal with such attributes of state as political system, economy, democracy, culture, and religion.

Meanwhile, Kravchuk completely ignores the main problem of Ukraine—developing such strength, which means forming a great number of patriots, whose support could help resolve any problems. He attempts to build the state in a different way, which has been unknown in the history of the world—not by the strength of united people, but by cunning, acrobatic diplomacy.

This has not given any positive results during the two years of Ukrainian independence, because it could not give any. Ukraine today resembles an amorphous social substance, all the spheres of which are ruined. There is no order, laws are ineffective, and nobody listens to anybody. No reforms are conducted. Everything is plunged into inactivity and the realm of daydreams. There can be only one answer to the question of who rules Ukraine—inertia.

It is President Kravchuk who is responsible for this situation, because he has never had his own political line, but has always followed an average line of the entire society, not advocating the creative minority, but the inert majority. His willingness to make compromises kills any attempt to move forward. Therefore, there has been no such movement. The lack of movement has resulted in the current decay.

This is quite normal, since society can change, and therefore, develop, only if it adapts new ideas advocated by minorities or even separate individuals. The responsibility

of a state leader is to select from new ideas the most suitable one, and to guide society in the right direction. A leader should steer society. He should not be an average voice of inoperative mass that does not have any intelligence, but only potential energy.

All that has been said above allows one to come to the conclusion that the activities of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk are determined by two factors—bright intelligence and weak will. The lack of a precise concept of state-building, the slyness of his policy, his willingness to make compromises, and neglecting the factor of strength are the results of these components. Knowing this, one can easily explain and predict every step of the president. [passage omitted]

Belarus

Hryb Adresses Armed Forces, Stresses Morale

WS0103091594 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 23 Feb 94 pp 1,3

[Speech delivered by Supreme Soviet Chairman Mechyslaw Hryb at a celebration meeting devoted to the Day of Fatherland's Defenders and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Belarus; place and date not given: "Our Future Is In Our Hands"]

[Text] Dear veterans!

Esteemed representatives of the Armed Forces!

Respected guests!

First of all, let me congratulate you on the occasion of the Day of Fatherland's Defenders and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Belarus!

There is hardly a family, even hardly a person in our republic, whose fates have not been connected in one way or another with the past war, with the Army, with the making of the Armed Forces.

Many times, our soil had been the scene of terrible battles for freedom and independence of the Fatherland. Such is the history. Many times, foreign invaders trod over our land and crop, set our towns and villages on fire. And every time, the path of the invading enemies was blocked by Fatherland's Defenders, by our valiant soldiers, guerrillas, and conspirators. The destiny of the Belarusian nation as well as those of other nations have often been determined on the banks of the Berezina river, alongside the gray Dnepr river, and by the walls of the Brest fortress.

Addressing our words of gratitude to older generations, and bowing our heads by the graves of the fallen and those dead of wounds and woes during the evil years of the war, we also draw conclusions for the present day. We should always remember how great was the price paid for our victory and freedom. Therefore, it is our holy duty to preserve and augment the glorious traditions of our ancestors.

Today our activity proceeds from our realities. The Republic of Belarus is an independent, sovereign state. A young state, too. Our state threatens nobody's security and builds its relations with all states on the basis of equal partnership and mutual respect, having clearly determined its neutral status that is being affirmed through practical actions.

While building up our tomorrow, we have to begin many things anew. At the current time, in an exceptionally important and, due to objective reasons, complicated period, we lay the foundations for a new economic union with Russia and other CIS countries, as well as strengthen our ties with the countries of far abroad. Belarus favors collective security, supports those good traditions which were established with Russia and other countries of the former USSR during the past decades.

Undoubtedly, we are all expecting improvements in all the spheres of our life. However, to achieve them, we must determine the ways out of the crisis and resolve many complex problems. Alas, many things—due to various objective and subjective reasons—are being resolved in an undesirable way. There is a very complex situation in the national economy. The national income, as compared to January-December last year [as published], decreased by 10 percent. The decrease in industrial production during 1993-94 in comparable prices amounts to 18.5 percent. The situation in agriculture—it should be openly admitted—has become threatening. Immediate measures should be adopted there, and we will adopt them.

The issues of the upcoming sowing campaign have recently been discussed at the Supreme Soviet Presidium session. New possibilities of financial aid to the countryside have been found; some other problems will also be resolved.

With regard to our economy as a whole, we are principally committed to the orientation toward an economic union with Russia, toward a single ruble zone. I think that, given the current circumstances, this approach is reasonable. It is important to stabilize industry, give enterprises greater employment opportunities, and restore people's confidence in the future.

In today's activity of the Supreme Soviet, we give priority to the questions of the state political system: Introduction of the presidency and the nationwide elections of the president as a head of the state and executive power. The necessary draft laws have been prepared, and will be discussed during the current Supreme Soviet session.

The parliamentary opposition as well as certain political parties and movements urge early elections for the Supreme Soviet; they propose holding presidential elections next, and, then ultimately, adopting a new constitution. I believe that in this case we should expect an interim period of complete state uncontrollability. I think that I do not need to mention the consequences of such a period.

Esteemed representatives of the Armed Forces! The issues related to the building of the Army and the defense of the Republic of Belarus have always been given priority by the Supreme Soviet.

The current process of reforms in the Armed Forces tends not to disorganize the defense capability of the republic, but to bring this capability in line with the current political and economic situation of our young sovereign state.

There are many difficulties. What are their roots and origins?

The Belarusian people have been living in peace for the last 50 years. It is a rare historical fact. However, due to well-known political processes, a change in the world outlook has occurred over the last two years. Along with it, a sense of honor for the destiny of the Fatherland has been lost to a certain extent. A very negative role has recently been played by political games, to which the Army was a hostage. Many of those who honestly attended to their military duties, have been brought down by a rush of

accusations and insults. By unjust accusations and insults, I would like to emphasize. As a result, a fall in the prestige of the military service and work among the ranks followed.

Celebrating the professional holiday of servicemen, which is historically associated with the notions of manly valor, honor, and dignity, we also see those first results that were attained in the complex work of building the Belarusian Armed Forces.

Having declared its nonnuclear status and commitment to neutrality, Belarus has to eliminate these disproportions in a short time and benefit as much as possible from all that was inherited. Unfortunately, mistakes have been made here, too.

Having announced our move toward neutrality, we clearly realize that the desirable effect cannot be achieved quickly. Therefore, many politicians understand that one has to optimally make use of those circumstances, of those economic, political, social, and demographic situations that were attained during the existence of the USSR.

A well-considered approach by the Supreme Soviet and the government as well as a good attitude of our citizens to transformations in the military sphere have allowed us to prepare a legislative basis for resolving the tasks of the state defense and the creation of our own Armed Forces.

Over 30 laws have been worked out and adopted; the government has implemented over 60 normative documents. On this basis, it was possible to reduce the number of troops almost by half in two years, as well as to implement the principal structural transformations which were applicable to the situation and the capability of our state.

To picture the scale of this work, I will cite some figures. By November 1995, the republic should dismantle over 2,000 tanks, about 1,500 combat vehicles, and over 500 aircraft.

We are for the strict fulfillment of international agreements. However, we also need an understanding on the part of other states which are interested in providing security to the European continent. Under the circumstances that have been globally changed—I put it straightforwardly—our republic alone is incapable of fulfilling those agreements.

We, undoubtedly, count on the predominance of the spirit of reality among the governments of Europe and the United States, as well as their financial and material participation in the resolution of these issues.

However, it is only a single, though very important, aspect. As the building of our statehood advances, new layers of very complex problems are uncovered. Therefore, while celebrating the day of Fatherland's Defenders and the Armed Forces, we also consult the righteousness of the adopted orientation with that part of our society, which is most competent in the military sphere.

I evaluate the situation in the Army, which was created by our joint efforts with the Ministry of Defense in the process of reforming and deeply reducing the troops, as a success.

The Supreme Soviet is deeply concerned today with the situation of servicemen and their families, as well as those pensioned or transferred to the reserve due to reforms in the Army.

The economic situation in the republic does not allow us to safeguard the proper level of social guarantees to the right degree. I will say even more—for the time being, we are not able to provide our troops with satisfactory material and technical support.

The Supreme Soviet and the government are very concerned with the level of military discipline and the fall in the level of patriotic education of youth.

There are many problems. However, there are also good aspects. I think that we all, including the information media, should also see the good things.

I am sure, dear friends, that all those who served in the Army, and those who are serving today, as well as all the Belarusian citizens understand very well that our future is in our hands.

Let me congratulate you on the Day of Fatherland's Defenders and the Armed Forces.

I wish you good health and every success in mastering combat ability for the benefit of our Belarus!

Dear veterans!

I thank you for your contribution to the strengthening of our state independence and the education of the young generation.

I wish you happiness and joy for long years to come!

Congratulations, dear friends!

Hryb Grants Interview

WS2802141594 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 25 Feb 94 p 1

[Interview with Supreme Soviet Chairman Mechyslaw Hryb by Vital Tshygankov; place and date not given: "The Belarusian and Russian Prime Ministers Will Meet in Early March"]

[Text] During a recess at the Supreme Soviet session, journalists interviewed Mechyslaw Hryb, head of the legislature.

[Tsygankov] What is your attitude toward the proposal by one of the Russian Duma legislative factions about the political unification of Belarus with Russia?

[Hryb] This issue was never discussed—either at the meeting of the prime ministers in Moscow or the Interparliamentary Assembly in Saint Petersburg. We are interested only in an economic union and a common ruble zone. I can assure you that no official circles ever considered the political union.

[Tsygankov] When will the Belarusian prime minister go to Moscow?

[Hryb] As is known, both prime ministers are ill now. Once they begin to recover, I think their meeting will actually take place. I talked with Kebich—the government heads are planning to meet in early March. Viktor Chernomyrdin even called off his foreign visits.

Popular Movement Holds News Conference on Moscow Visit

WS0103104194 Minsk BELAPAN in Belarusian 1954 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] On 28 February, the Popular Movement of Belarus [NDB] held a news conference at the national press center, which was devoted to the recent visit of NDB representatives to Moscow. The conference was attended by People's Deputy Valeryy Tsikhinya, NDB Chairman Syarhey Haydukevich, and Mikalay Syarheyew, cochairman of the Slavic Assembly Belaya Rus. The participants in the news conference informed that they held meetings with leaders of all State Duma factions in Moscow. The purpose of the meetings was to learn the Russian legislators' opinion about an economic union of the CIS countries, a single ruble zone, and the political situation in Belarus. A number of questions related to economic cooperation and the reestablishment of ties was also discussed [passage indistinct]. He also stated that, regardless of political [word indistinct], the unification of monetary systems of Russia and Belarus is supported by all State Duma factions. It was also announced at the news conference that a joint session of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet and the Russian State Duma is planned for the future. Expressing his opinion about the amnesty to the participants in the Moscow events, Valeryy Tsikhinya said: "It is an act of good will and mercy, which was adopted under the new Russian Constitution." The conference also touched upon the possible introduction of the presidency in Belarus. V. Tsikhinya informed that 216 Supreme Soviet deputies support the presidential system of rule; the adoption of an appropriate document requires 232 votes. V. Tsikhinya expressed hope, however, that the 13th Supreme Soviet session proceedings on 1 March will provide the sufficient number of votes. Presidential elections, in his opinion, will be held in June of this year.

Shushkevich Favors Democratic Electoral Bloc

WS0103102694 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] Former Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich in an interview to INTERFAX has spoken in favor of creating an electoral bloc of democratic forces in the republic. According to the ex-speaker, this bloc could consist of various social and political organizations, including the oppositional Belarusian Popular Front. Having suggested that he will actively participate in the formation of such a bloc, Shushkevich stated that for the time being, he does not intend to create a party of his own. It is necessary to urge early parliamentary elections, which were promised by the Supreme Soviet to the people some time ago, noted the ex-speaker.

'Spring 94' Urges Shushkevich Candidacy

WS2802200394 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1815 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] People's Deputy Stanislav Shushkevich held two meetings with workers in Mogilev this past Sunday [27 February]. The former parliamentary speaker sees early parliamentary elections as the way out of the current difficult situation. Touching upon the unification of monetary systems of Russia and Belarus, Stanislav Shushkevich spoke in favor of this agreement concluded on equal conditions without infringing upon the interests of our Republic.

The leaders of the local "Spring 94" bloc of democratic forces publicized an appeal to Stanislav Shushkevich, in which they requested that he put forward his candidacy for the post of Belarus' first president. This appeal was approved by the supporters of democratic parties.

Polish Military Attache on 'Strengthening' Ties

WS2802195394 Minsk VO SLAVU RODINY in Russian 26 Feb 94 p 1

[Interview with Andrzej Bortnowski, Polish military attache to Belarus, by Reserve Colonel G. Palchevskiy; place and date not given: "Andrzej Bortnowski: 'My Task Is To Strengthen Friendship Between Our Armies'"]

[Excerpt] [Palchevskiy] During World War II, Belarus and Poland suffered heavy losses in population and material resources. We are now preparing to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Belarus' liberation from German fascist invaders and the 50th anniversary of the victory of Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War. Is Poland going to celebrate these events, too? Do Poles remember being liberated by the Soviet Army?

[Bortnowski] Yes, our nations suffered very heavy losses during that war. The memory of the fallen is sacred. Poles, undoubtedly, have not forgotten from where the deliverance from fascism came. In Poland, there are graves of Belarusians who fought for the liberation of Poland, while in Belarus are the graves of Poles who fought our common enemy. Our nations are fraternal, and Belarusian-Polish brotherhood in arms has been sealed by blood. This cannot be forgotten.

With regard to the current day, the ties between our Armies are strengthening and mutual contacts are becoming permanent and multifaceted. As of recently, for example, working meetings have been held between the

defense ministers of both our countries, as well as meetings between military delegations on various levels, including border troops from your 28th Army Corps and our Warsaw Military District.

[Palchevskiy] Not long ago, Poland was a member of the Warsaw Pact, but now it strives to join NATO. What is the reason? Such a step is surely designed to incite anxiety among Poland's neighbors to the east.

[Bortnowski] With regard to the anxieties of our eastern neighbors, it may be said with full certainty: Poland wants to live with its all neighbors in peace and friendship. With regard to military and political reorientation, it can be attributed to the change of the world's general situation. In addition, it belongs to the competence of politicians, not servicemen. The leadership of any country, while taking care of its security, has to adopt definite resolutions. That is all I can say.

[Palchevskiy] Colonel, due to well-known circumstances, the prestige of military service in our republic has suffered a decline over recent years. What is the situation in Poland?

[Bortnowski] Military service in Poland is very prestigious—it is distinguished and well-paid. The prestige of the Army rose considerably after the 1980's and the installation of the new state leadership. [passage omitted]

Moldova

TV Reports 73 Percent Vote in Elections

LD2802144694 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Feb 94

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Approximately 50 percent [figure as heard] of voters in Moldova voted in the pre-term parliamentary elections for the Agrarian Democratic Party [ADP]. Those running on the ADP list included Petr Lucinschi, the speaker of the present parliament, and Andrey Sangeli, the prime minister. In all, 73 percent of Moldovans took part in the elections.

Parties of leftwing orientation, running in the Socialist Party-Movement For Equal Rights and Unity bloc, scored an unexpected success, gaining 23 percent of the vote. The Popular Christian Democratic Front and the bloc of peasants and intellectuals, whose main aim is unification with Romania, gained approximately 14 percent of the votes. In fourth place, according to as yet preliminary figures, was the Social Democratic Party, which received 13 percent of the votes.

Political specialists in Moldova believe that a constructive majority will be formed in the new parliament which will favor the further strengthening of Moldovan statehood - in particular, the implementation of a balanced foreign policy - and closer economic integration with all republics of the Commonwealth.

Commission Releases Results

AU2802210194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Mircea Dascaliuc report from Chisinau]

[Text] After having entered into the computers the election results coming from 82 percent of the total number of electoral constituencies on the entire territory of the Republic of Moldova, this evening the Central Electoral Commission released for the mass media the rating of the first seven political forces, as follows:

The Agrarian Democratic Party—43.21 percent;

The Bloc of the Socialist Party and the Edinstvo Unity Movement—21.77 percent;

The Bloc of Peasants and Intellectuals—8.98 percent;

The Christian-Democratic Popular Front Alliance—7.31 percent;

The Social-Democratic Party—3.51 percent;

The Democratic Party of Labor—2.55 percent;

The Reform Party—2.46 percent.

The chairman of the Central Electoral Commission said that tomorrow they will proceed to examine the electoral documents that were sent to them by each electoral constituency. The chairman also pointed out that he firmly rejects all assertions circulating false data claiming that the source was the Central Electoral Commission. He also mentioned the fact that the results that have been published until now do not have an absolute value and do not represent the final results of the 27 February elections.

Lucinschi Asserts Course Toward Reform

AU2802155494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Ioan David dispatch from Chisinau]

[Text] Esteemed listeners: Two news conferences were held at the headquarters of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova this morning with the participation of the international observers present at the 27 February legislative elections. One of the two news conferences was given by the observers of the Council of Europe, a body which was also represented by Senator Adrian Paunescu [vice president of Romania's Socialist Party of Labor], and the second was given by the delegation of representatives of the CSCE and NATO Parliamentary Assembly, which included eight Romanian parliamentarians. At the news conference of CSCE representatives, four Romanian deputies were also present.

During the dialogue with the press, the general opinion that crystallized was that, generally speaking, the elections were correct and without incidents, with the international observers having access to all voting stations. The largest number of objections referred to the entry of two or more persons in the ballot booths at the same time, usually

husband and wife or relatives; in some cases, individuals from the voting sections would advise the voters for what political grouping they should vote.

The two news conferences were preceded by a meeting of the international observers with Mr. Petr Lucinschi, president of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, who thanked them for their activity during yesterday's legislative elections. The Parliament president said that a first and provisional estimate of the results of the voting indicates that the following groupings will surely be represented in Parliament: the Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova [PDAM], the Socialist Part and Edinstvo Movement, the Christian Democratic Popular Front [FPCD], and the Bloc of Peasants and Intellectuals. As a matter of fact, later centralized results coming from the provinces confirmed his statement.

Afterward, Mr. Petr Lucinschi apologized to the international observers for certain organizational irregularities noted by them and assured those present that the Republic of Moldova will evolve toward economic reform, conciliation, and peace and that it will observe the requirements on democracy formulated by the European structures.

Kyrgyzstan

President Akayev Assures Russian Nationals

PM2802112994 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 94 p 2

[Nikolay Musiyenko report: "Askar Akayev: Russians Do Have a Future in Kyrgyzstan"]

[Text] The press conference held at the close of his official visit to Moscow by President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan was devoted to one of the most troublesome problems facing this republic—the exodus of the Russian-speaking population. Over 100,000 people—10 percent of those for whom Russian is their first language—have left since the collapse of the Union,.

"I still consider the main aim and the main thrust of my policy to be the quest for and the strengthening of interethnic accord; and we must do everything within our power—the possible and the impossible alike—to halt the migration process," A. Akayev declared.

As he noted, teaching given in the Russian language in schools and higher educational establishments has been maintained in full in Kyrgyzstan, as has the training of teachers specializing in Russian. Moreover, a Russian Slavic University, where students from other Central Asian republics can study, was opened here recently—the first and as yet the only one of its kind in the CIS. It is equally important, however, to solve the socioeconomic problems of Russians working at industrial enterprises, too. As A. Akayev announced, during his visit to Moscow he presented an entire package of agreements to B. Yeltsin, thanks to which the usual provision of plants and factories with orders from Russia would be maintained. And if there is work, there will be a comfortable standard of living for families. According to A. Akayev, these proposals "met with complete mutual understanding and support on the part of the Russian Federation president."

But nevertheless, joint efforts by all Commonwealth countries are required in order to regulate migration processes, A. Akayev stressed. Kyrgyzstan submitted a draft multilateral agreement on protecting the rights and interests of national minorities back in 1991. But, alas, after it was amended, all that remained of it were empty declarations. In A. Akayev's view, it is worth returning to the draft of this document at the next meeting of CIS heads of states. Its basic provisions are as follows: First, adequate representation of national minorities in the state administration system; second, refusal to countenance discrimination against persons who do not speak the national languages of the new independent states; and, finally, a solution to the problem of dual citizenship.

President Denies NATO To Have Bases in Republic

LD2602220294 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 26 Feb 94

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russsian Defense Ministry]

[Text] Radio Slavyanka has reported, quoting the VECHERNIY BISHKEK newspaper, that Kyrgyzstan's leadership is holding talks with NATO on providing the bloc with military bases on the territory of the republic. The newspaper wrote that when its correspondent approached the Kyrgyzstan Defense Ministry for an explanation, it was unable to either confirm or deny this report. During his official visit to Moscow, the republican President Askar Akayev clarified the situation in an interview with our correspondent.

[Begin Akayev recording] This will never happen, because we were one of the first co-founders of the collective security council. We were one of the first five countries in Tashkent to sign the collective security treaty and the decision to set up joint CIS Armed Forces. So of course we will rely on the joint armed forces in the business of defending our security and ensuring peace in Kyrgyzstan, and indeed in all the countries of the CIS, on the territory of the whole of the former USSR. [end recording]

Ostankino TV Programming Facing Cuts

LD2802162994 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Correspondent Vladimir Fedorov report from Kyrgyzstan; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] It is hard to assess the new schedule for broadcasts by Kyrgyz State Television as anything other than a stab in the back for the republic's president. From today, Ostankino broadcasts are being removed here after the newscast at 2100 local time. Almaty and Tashkent programs, previously carried on another channel alongside Turkish broadcasts, are replacing them. Now, Ankara broadcasts solidly between 0900 and 0200 the next morning in a language that is completely unintelligible to the overwhelming majority of the Kyrgyz population.

It is, however, intelligible to local television and communication officials. Ostankino is in arrears for some reason, whereas the Turks pay up and have even handed over written-off video cameras as gifts.

It is typical that the squeezing out of Russian programs - and Mayak has also been subject to this policy - has occurred during the absence of Askar Akayev, who is now on vacation in Barvikha outside Moscow following his successful talks with Boris Yeltsin on the receipt of 75 billion rubles for a program to prevent the migration of Russians in Kyrgyzstan and to preserve the use of the Russian language.

As a result of this new assault on Ostankino, the republic's viewers will this week lose their evening news bulletins on Thursday and Saturday and also the "Voskresenye" program.

Armenia

Statement on Sumgait Events, Call for Peace

NC2802223494 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 28 Feb 94

["Joint statement issued by the President, Presidium of Supreme Council, and Council of Ministers on the sixth anniversary of the atrocities in Sumgait"]

[Text] Six years have passed since the atrocities committed in Sumgait. The entire world shuddered in February of 1988 as it witnessed the genocide of fanatical savagery. The name Sumgait became the symbol of atrocity, death, and horror. It also became a shameful testimony to the unhealthy and inhuman nature of illusive prosperity and society. Because this crime committed against humanity and civilization failed to obtain a deserving assessment, it became an ill-omened precedent and evolved into a short-sighted state policy. The same plan, crime, inhuman and unnatural logic was put to work in Sumgait, Kirtovabad [Ganja], Baku, Getashen, and Shaumyan. That notorious neocolonialist doctrine of using force to drown the national self-determination issue in blood became the main cause of the misfortunes and sufferings of hundreds of thousands of Armenians and Azerbaijanis over the last six years. The sharpened iron bars and knives used by the brutish mob of Sumgait were eventually replaced by fire-arms, then by Grads and grenades, and by powerful tanks and supersonic bombers. Not only tens of thousands of young men and innocent people were thrown into the melee of war, but also thousands of mercenaries and soldiers of fortune.

It is long overdue that the Sumgait syndrome be shaken off, and the condemnable behavior of solving human rights issues and interethnic problems by resorting to the use of force be abandoned.

Remaining true to the international norms of behavior, guided by the principles adopted by the UN, CSCE and other international and regional organizations for the peaceful resolution of contentious issues through political talks, proceeding from the state policy of establishing good-neighborly relations with all the neighbors, the Armenian Republic's authorities hereby express their determination to find a peaceful resolution to the Karabakh problem. They call upon the Azerbaijani leadership to refrain from the further escalation and internationalization of the conflict and instead welcome the establishment of a stable cease-fire and the peace- making initiatives for the political settlement of Karabakh problem. They call upon the leadership to refrain from undermining them yet again and from causing new privations and suffering to the two neighboring peoples so as not leave new black Sumgaitian pages to history.

Azeri Attack on Gadrut Repulsed 27 Feb

NC2802123494 Yerevan SNARK in English 1210 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Stepanakert, February 28 (SNARK)—Three armoured units and dozens of soldiers killed—these are the losses the Azerbaijani side suffered as a result of yesterday's offensive in the Gadrut direction of Karabakh front. As SNARK was informed in the press-center of Karabakh Defence Army, by the evening of February 27 the defenders of Karabakh had managed to repel the enemy's attack and made him retreat to the initial positions. On Karabakh side there are 8 soldiers killed and one wounded.

Today at the greater part of the front line there is relative peace, occasionally violated by short exchange of fire.

Meanwhile, according to Karabakh Defence Army data, the accumulation of Azerbaijani man power and military hardware is observed at eastern part of the front.

Situation, 'Provocative' Activities Reported

NC2802213894 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The latest reports from the NKR indicate that the situation along the front line is tense. Regardless of the many casualties they have suffered, the Azerbaijan National Army [ANA] units have maintained their intermittent attacks in various parts of the front line. A report we received from the NKR Defense Army Press Service a short time ago said that the situation in a large part of NKR's front line was relatively peaceful last night and this morning, that is after the violent clashes in the south-eastern sector yesterday. Only intermittent positional fighting took place in various areas. The NKR defense forces destroyed three armored vehicles and dozens of ANA soldiers. One of the NKR freedom fighters was killed and eight others were wounded.

The NKR intelligence units have established that Azerbaijan is massing reinforcements and armored vehicles in the eastern sector of the front line.

Several newspapers in Moscow have quoted the Azerbaijan mass media organs as saying that the NKR Defense Army Headquarters has established additional punitive units. The reports said that the punitive units have been assigned to prevent the retreat of the Armenian troops. S. Oganyan, chief of the NKR General Staff, has disclosed that only NKR's disclosures represent the true state of affairs. Oganyan asserted that the NKR has not felt the need to organize punitive units since the NKR military forces were established. However, such units have been used in Azerbaijan to fire on the retreating Azerbaijani military forces. It is no coincidence that Azerbaijan's military servicemen prefer to surrender to the Armenian forces to avoid being fired on by those units. Some 60 officers and men have surrendered to the NKR defense forces during the past two months. Citizens of several foreign countries were among them.

The relatively peaceful situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan during the past week, has been

disrupted once again. The Armenian Ministry of Defense Press Service has disclosed that the defense positions around Berkaber and Kirants in Armenia's Idzhevanskiy Rayon were fired on from Azerbaijan with various types of arms on 24 February. Armenia's border guards took retaliatory measures. No one was hurt on the Armenian side.

The occasional provocative activities in Azerbaijan do not allow the establishment of peace and security on the border.

Minister Says Armenians Accept Cease-Fire Plan

NC0103095594 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 2050 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Talks were held in Yerevan on 28 February between Davit Shahnazaryan, the Armenian president's ambassador on special missions and acting head of the State Directorate for National Security; Armenian Defense Minister Serzh Sargisyan; the Russian president's representative in the region, Validimir Kazimirov; and the Russian Deputy Defense Minister Georgiy Kondratyev on finalizing the cease-fire agreement concluded during the meeting of the defense ministers of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Kondratyev assessed the talks: I faced no problems in Armenia. The Armenian side, Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, agrees to fully implement the Moscow agreement and cease fire as of 1 March. I am leaving for Baku today. I hope to receive a similar reply there. It could be stated that a first step leading to peace is being taken. Russia, Kondratyev noted, will terminate its mediatory mission if Azerbaijan refuses to implement or disagrees with any of the provisions of the agreement. After all, both the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis are longing for the war to end.

He also noted that the planned visit to Stepanakert was not possible due to weather conditions. But the deputy defense minister assured that he will be there at the first opportunity.

Armenian, Russian Officials Hold Peace Talks

LD2802215694 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1756 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 28 Feb—Four hours of talks with the Armenian leadership were held in Yerevan today by Vladimir Kazimirov, the Russian president's special envoy, and Colonel General Georgiy Kondratyev, deputy Russian minister of defense. The conversation with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan was held behind closed doors. However, it is known that they concerned the new peace-making initiative of Russia, which once again is trying to stop the bloodshed in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The representatives of the Russian leadership also met Armenian Defense Minister Serzhik Sarkisyan and the Armenian president's special envoy David Shakhnazaryan. As the Armenian president's press service has reported, during the course of the meetings the Armenian side reaffirmed that Yerevan is ready to assume all its commitments arising from the Moscow protocol. The conflict has reached a phase where a settlement is impossible without the introduction of separating forces, the participants in the conversation at the Armenian president's office stated.

As reported earlier, at the recent meeting in Moscow of the Armenian and Azerbaijani defense ministers with the participation of a representative of Nagorno-Karabakh, and with the mediation of the Russian defense minister, it was proposed to the conflicting sides that there should be a cease-fire and an end to hostilities from 0000 on 1 March, and also that troops should be withdrawn from the confrontation line. These points were sealed in the protocol that was signed.

Russia has done everything in its power, Georgiy Kondratyev told journalists. "We intended to visit Stepanakert," said the general, "but bad weather prevented us from going. The Armenian side was quite constructive and had no questions." According to the deputy minister, "if the Azerbaijan side does not respond to this initiative, Russia will suspend its mediatory mission." A cease-fire is awaited in Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Azerbaijan and if all sides agree, a mechanism to implement a cease-fire, worked out by heads of the military directorates at a Moscow meeting, could be set in motion, Georgiy Kondratyev said. The general expressed certainty that the agreements will be respected by both Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. "It is essential," he said, "that Azerbaijan adopts a similar decision."

This evening, after the meetings in Yerevan, the representatives of the Russian president went to Baku.

Officials Leave for Baku

NC0103093294 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Vladimir Kazimirov, Russian president's personal representatives in the region, and Russian Deputy Defense Minister Colonel-General Georgiy Kondratyev arrived in Yerevan at noon today.

Our correspondent Gevorg Nazaryan reports:

[Begin recording] [Nazaryan] The high-ranking guests were received at Zvartnots Airport by Davit Shahnazaryan, the Armenian president's ambassador on special missions and acting head of the State Directorate for National Security, and the Armenian Defense Minister Serzh Sargisyan. The motorcade left for the government guest house, where talks were held. Here is what Valdimir Kazimirov said before the start of the talks. [passage omitted]

Russia's mediatory initiative to resolve the Karabakh conflict and issues pertaining to the implementation of the quadripartite agreement signed in Moscow on 16 February among Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, Azerbaijan, and Russia were discussed during the talks. The protocol envisages a program for ceasing the fire and the

military operations and the withdrawal of the troops from the conflict zone as of 1 March.

The Armenian side confirmed that Armenia is ready to assume all the responsibilities emanating from the protocol. [passage omitted]

According to plan, the Russian delegation was to leave for Stepanakert today but unfavorable weather conditions canceled the flight.

After the talks, President Levon Ter-Petrosyan received Vladimir Kazimirov and Georgiy Kondratyev at 1700. They examined Russia's mediatory initiative for the peaceful resolution of the Karabakh conflict. They stressed that the conflict has now entered a phase in which its resolution is impossible without introducing separating forces.

The Russian delegation left for Baku in the evening. [end recording]

Azerbaijan

Mass Arrests of Opposition Members Reported

NC0103085894 Baku TURAN in English 1951 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Baku, February 28 (TURAN)—Last night law enforcement officials arrested Popular [People's] Front [PFA] members in Baku, Akstafa, Lenkoran, Yevlakh, Kazakh and other smaller settlements.

It should be noted that members of Musavat Party were also arrested. The number of arrested is not known. Besides, searches were carried out in the homes of these people.

Novella Jafarova, the acting chairman of the "Women's Rights Defense Society" told to TURAN news agency that several policemen from the Yasamal police department conducted a search of her home at 4 am. this morning without a warrant. Such actions were conducted in the homes of many PFA members last night and some of the PFA members were arrested after searches last night. According to the PFA, the number of arrested reached 100 people.

The PFA leadership believes that the February 28 actions were carefully planned by the leadership against the opposition.

Procurator-General Says 'Coup' Planned

LD2802222994 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] [Mais Mamedov] A whole arms depot has been discovered by law enforcement bodies of Baku in the headquarters of the Azerbaijan People's Front. It consists of 42 projectiles for grenade launchers, about 200 bottles of inflammable liquid, 73 bullet proof vests, fuses for grenades, and smoke pots.

Speaking today at a press conference, procurator-general of the republic Ali Omerov stated that according to information at his disposal the People's Front of Azerbaijan had been preparing a coup for 5 March. He also announced that in a number of districts of Azerbaijan today members of that organization had been detained and combat weaponry had been confiscated from them. Those arrested include citizens from Chechnya.

Minister of Internal Affairs Vafig Novruzov [as heard] described as ridiculous claims of the People's Front leadership that the weaponry had been deliberately planted by policemen to settle scores with members of that organization. He pointed ou that an inquiry was being conducted which would dot all the "i"s.

Armenia Holding 16 Azerbaijani POWs

LD2802183394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1702 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] At present there are 16 Azeri prisoners of war in Armenia, which has been confirmed by the International Red Cross, the chief of the press center of Armenia's Defence Ministry, Gagik Martoian, told Interfax. He qualified the recent Azeri radio allegations that Armenia is holding 3500 Azeri prisoners of war, as "another lie."

According to Martoian, 5 Azeris were captured "when staging armed encroachment on Armenia's borders," and 11 when trying to cross Armenian territory from Azerbaijan to Nakhichevan.

Moreover, the Defence Ministry spokesman denied the Azeri Foreign Ministry's assertions that there are concentration camps in Armenia.

As Martoian said, last year Armenia unilaterally returned to Azerbaijan 16 prisoners of war and 60 civilians from Kelbajar District in Azerbaijan, who had taken refuge in the canyons of Vardeni District in Armenia.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Assails Abkhaz 'Separatists'

LD2802176594 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1520 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] In today's traditional Monday radio interview, Head of the Georgian State Eduard Shevardnadze declared that the Geneva meeting has once again revealed the true colors of separatism which is acting purposefully and aspiring to reach its pre-arranged goal. Separatists are obviously "frightened" of peace. In case of a peaceful settlement, all criminal acts perpetrated by them against mankind will be unveiled—thousands of people shot without trial, dozens of villages burned to the ground, and the ruined lives of people of many nationalities, Georgians, Abkhazians, Russians, Greeks, and Armenians. If a peace agreement is signed, international observers who are to study the instances of genocide and ethnic cleansing will promptly arrive in Abkhazia.

The Georgian leader later stressed the positive of the Geneva talks, despite the disruption.

Mr. Shevardnadze mentioned that the Russian side, the United Nations, and the authorities of Great Britain, France, and Germany supported the Georgian side in its aspirations for a peaceful settlement of the Abkhaz conflict and that a new escalation of war must not be allowed. The stance taken by these countries must play a positive role in resolving this issue. "It is necessary to find new forms and formulae, and make a definite compromise in order to avoid the outbreak a new catastrophe which could assume an unprecedented scale," the head of the Georgian state declared.

The parliament chairman stressed that everything is now up to the security council. The United Nations, with Russian support, must justify the peacekeeping mission entrusted to it; and if Russia plays the role of a guarantor of peace and stability, then it will be a new landmark in world politics and positively affect not only the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict but also those world issues which need to be resolved immediately.

When assessing recent Russian events connected with the adoption of the law on amnesty for the August and October putschists, Shevardnadze said that this action could complicate the internal political situation in Russia if the leadership of the country fails to control the situation independently without the influence of external factors.

Commenting on his forthcoming visit to the United States, the Georgian leader said that besides a meeting with the U.S. President, consultations with representatives of the World Bank and the IMF and also with the leaders of various U.S. government departments are planned.

Eduard Shevardnadze especially singled out one of the essential points at the forthcoming Georgian-U.S. meeting: a more detailed familiarization of the U.S. administration with the Abkhaz conflict.

Ioseliani Says UN Troops To Be Sent to Abkhazia

LD2802123194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1137 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] The chief Georgian negotiator at the Georgian-Abkhazian talks in Geneva, Jaba Ioseliani, has said that "UN troops will be deployed in Abkhazia, whether the Gugauta grouping wants it or not, and the process of refugees' return will begin." "This is what the Gudauta leaders are afraid of, since in this case all their claims to statehood will be buried," he told journalists in Tbilisi.

The Abkhazian leadership stands for deploying peacekeeping forces on the border between Abkhazia and Georgia along the River Inguri.

In comments on the results of the 3rd round of talks held on February 22nd-25th, Ioseliani said that the Georgian delegation knew from the outset that "the Abkhazian side will not accept any constructive solutions." "Nevertheless we met with them, so that the entire world can see with whom we are dealing," he said.

According to Ioseliani, all participants in the talks "were indignant at the destructive stance taken by Gudauta." Discussions on the Abkhazian problem are continuing at the U.N. in New York, he noted.

Estonia

Top Negotiator Expects No Break in 'Deadlock'

WS2802162394 Tallinn BNS in English 1344 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Tallinn, Feb 28, BNS—Vaino Reinart, head of the Estonian delegation for negotiations with Russia, expressed the opinion that the next round of talks between the two countries, scheduled to begin tomorrow, will not break the deadlock.

"We hope Russia will abandon its unconstructive approach of tying the troop withdrawal timetable to an agreement on military pensioners," Reinart told BNS.

He emphasized that, in Estonia's view, an agreement on social guarantees for retired military should not determine the circle of military pensioners entitled to remain in Estonia. "The aliens law and the government decree explicitly state the categories of those persons, while the agreement deals only with technicalities: how they are to be paid, how they receive medical aid, who and how pays for their medical treatment, etc.," the diplomat explained.

Reinart voiced the hope, however, that the general agreement on troop withdrawal, which the delegations have almost completely finalized, will be initialed during the upcoming round of talks. He underscored that the withdrawal timetable, which Russia still hasn't presented, is part of the agreement and that the agreement cannot be initialed without the schedule.

When Estonia learned about Moscow's plans to protect the Russian- speaking population of the Baltic states and the CIS countries, it became "perfectly clear" why talks on economic issues are making no progress, Reinart said. "(The Russian program) plainly states that Russia should not promote economic ties with countries which, in its opinion, treat Russians badly, so we can't expect a breakthrough in economic talks," he maintained.

The solving of humanitarian issues, including the problem of citizenship, is blocked by diametrically opposite interpretation of the 1940 events and the states' succession, the Estonian diplomat claimed.

Reinart said the border issues working group plans to tackle demarcation of the sea border. The issue of adjoining areas will not come up during this round of talks, since Russia hasn't replied to Estonia's proposals.

The next round of Estonian-Russian talks is scheduled for March 1-2. Reinart and Russia's top negotiator, Vasiliy Svirin, will give a press conference on March 2.

Ministry Issues Statement

LD0103104794 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0500 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Another round of Estonian-Russian talks will open today at Lohusalu. It will last for two days. [passage omitted]

According to the Baltic desk officer at the Russian Foreign Ministry, Aleksandr (Udaltsev), Russia has not taken upon itself any obligations regarding a troop withdrawal deadline. The key obstacle in the interstate talks is the fact that several sets of documents have so far not been signed. Russia is aiming for a social guarantees agreement for Russian military pensioners and their family members to be concluded at the same time as a timetable and a deadline for the Russian troop withdrawal are set. According to (Udaltsev), the talks opening today must focus precisely on these issues.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Estonia received yesterday's statement of Aleksandr (Udaltsev), a Russian Foreign Ministry employee, with amazement. The Foreign Ministry finds that the content of (Udaltsev)'s statement is in conflict with both the CSCE and UN documents, as well as with Russian previous statements. The Estonian side is the more surprised by Russia's behavior because during the latest rounds of talks the Estonian side had made concessions on the issue of the troop withdrawal deadline, without possessing a satisfactory timetable. The statement of the Estonian Foreign Ministry notes that hopefully (Udaltsev)'s statement must be seen as a position of a Russian diplomat on the eve of another round of talks, so as to influence the talks. Should this, however, become Russia's official position then the issue of suspending the talks will be seriously on the agenda, due to Russia's unconstructive behavior.

Objection to Border Demarcation

WS2802134094 Tallinn ETA in English 0938 GMT 28 Feb 94

[From "News Bulletin" No. 39/94]

[Text] The Foreign Ministry is preparing an objection to Russia's unilateral intent to mark the border line between Estonia and Russia, ministry spokesman Juri Arusoo said. He referred to a statement by head of the Baltic bureau of the Russian Foreign Ministry Sergey Prikhodko, who has accused Estonia of unwillingness to mark the border jointly with Russia.

The Russian claims of Estonia's unwillingness are groundless, Arusoo said. Estonia is willing to settle the border issue as soon as possible, but it cannot be done on Russia's terms and before Russia has recognised the Tartu Peace Treaty, he pointed out. The Russian propositions have only concerned the present provisional border line, Arusoo explained.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman further pointed out that Russia has actually already started the construction of border control facilities and expressed his opinion that this may be an attempt to anticipate a possible international discussion of the issue.

Head of the Russian delegation Vasily Svirin accused Estonia of delaying the negotiations in a Russian TV news broadcast on Thursday [24 February]. He claimed that Estonia is unwilling to hold constructive negotiations or to discuss issues important to Russia.

The Svirin statement is another example of Russia's negotiation tactics, secretary of the Estonian delegation Ago Tiiman commented. He added that Estonia is willing to discuss any problems, while the Russian delegation understands negotiations as Estonia accepting any idea suggested by the Russian side. "Our partners forget that the entire world has found our tactics to be correct. But the Russian side does not respect the international opinion and only cares of its own position," Tiiman said.

The next round of negotiations is to take place in Lohusalu on March 1-2.

Official Views Increasing Transit of Arms to Russia

WS2802162694 Tallinn BNS in English 1344 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Tallinn, Feb 28, BNS—Illegal weapons trade between Estonia and Russia has increased of late, Director General of the Estonian Security Police Juri Pihl admitted at a press conference today.

Pihl said the current trend is that weapons from the former East European countries, a remarkable part of them manufactured in Western countries, are taken through Estonia to Russia. This is a reversal of the earlier situation when the arms traffic was directed from Russia through Estonia to third countries, the director said.

In recent weeks both Estonian and Russian officials have seized great amounts of arms being illegally taken into Russia.

In the course of a joint operation of the Security Police and the Defense Forces on Feb. 21, for example, over 500 TT [Tokarev] pistols were discovered in south Estonia near the Luhamaa border crossing. Another illegal arms consignment was discovered on the same day by Russian customs officials.

Latvia

Minister on Collapse of Talks With Russia

LD2802180094 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1530 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Latvian Defense Minister Valdis Pavlovskis is highly critical of Russia's attitude in its negotiations with Latvia. According to Pavlovskis, Russia is constantly imposing new conditions for withdrawing its troops from Latvia. Valdis Pavlovskis is the first Latvian defense minister to visit Finland after the Second World War.

[Correspondent] A couple of weeks ago, Russia and Latvia were already close to agreement on the withdrawal of Russian soldiers from Latvia. However, the talks came to a sudden halt without any result.

[Begin Pavlovskis recording, in English] Unfortunately, the talks have stalled. I think in recent days the Russian attitude has hardened, has become more negative. [end recording]

[Correspondent] According to Latvian Defense Minister Valdis Pavlovskis, the reason why the talks broke off was the Russian attitude that has hardened and become more negative.

[Begin Pavlovskis recording] Now I understand the Russians are imposing new conditions, stalling the old conditions and we just had...[fades to correspondents report]

[Correspondent] Pavlovskis says that Russia is now imposing new conditions for withdrawing its troops that are linked in particular, to the situation of the Russian soldiers in Latvia. According to him, it is not sufficient for Russia to reach agreement on the position of the disputed Skrunda high power radar. Pavlovskis admits that one reason why the talks broke off was that Latvia did not accept the annual rent of 11 million marks that Russia had offered. For this money, Russia would have been allowed to keep the radar for another four years. According to Defense Minister Pavlovskis, the rent for the radar station is, however, a matter on which agreement can be reached in the negotiations if there is the will.

Pavlovskis says that the rise of the conservative forces in Russia is clearly noticeable in the entire negotiation set-up. According to him, Russia now wants to argue about whether Russia invaded Latvia in 1940.

[Begin Pavlovskis recording] Now what the hell was it, if not an occupation? It was a historical fact, it was an occupation, (?but) troops that marched in and took us over...[fades to correspondents report]

[Correspondent] Pavlovskis demands that Russia should admit outright that it invaded Latvia and separate this historical manipulation from the current withdrawal negotiations.

Skrunda Radar Blown Up by Unknown Persons

LD0103091194 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] On the night of 28 February-1 March unknown people blew up an electric power line pole supplying electricity to the Russian radar station in the Latvian village of Skrunda. Interfax was told at the Russian Foreign Ministry that the terrorists failed to put the radar equipment out of action since the staff immediately switched over to another power line. As is known, there was talk at the Russian-Latvian negotiations of renting the Skrunda radar station for four years. However, certain political forces in Latvia are in favor of closing it down by the time Russian troops are withdrawn from the country this summer.

Explosion Termed 'Sabotage'

LD0103105194 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1007 GMT 1 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga, 1 Mar—Restoration work has started today on the site of the explosion which took place yesterday five

km from the Russian radar station in the Latvian village of Skrunda. One of the masts of the electric power line supplying electricity to the station was damaged here. A commission consisting of representatives of the station, Latvenergo [Latvian power supply company], and the criminal police have officially established that this was an act of sabotage. In connection with this, the press center of the North-Western Group of Forces reports, the Russian embassy is preparing a note of protest to the Latvian Foreign Ministry. Leonid Mayorov, commander of the group of forces, sent a request to the procurator general of Latvia.

Lithuania

President on Ties, Amnesty for Coup Leaders

WS2802193294 Tallinn BNS in English 1648 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Vilnius, Feb 28, BNS—Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas said he was surprised by the Russian parliament's decision to amnesty the leaders of the 1991 Soviet coup and the hard-liners who fought against President Boris Yeltsin last October.

At a press conference Monday, Brazauskas noted that the step was premature because there has been no legal evaluation of the actions undertaken by the organizers and the executors of those events. "Maybe they would have been acquitted in court—that is a different question."

Commenting on Lithuanian-Russian relations, Brazauskas said no changes have occurred lately. The president praised the Lithuanian government's initiative to find out why Russia does not send ratification documents to the agreement on the most favored nation trade status. [passage omitted]

Brazauskas said he has not yet had a change to read the Russian draft agreement on military transit through Lithuania. The president said he expect the head of the working group for talks with the CIS to acquaint him with the document this week.

In Brazauskas' words, misunderstandings over Russian military transit can be avoided by improving the currently existing order of transit.

A system of permits must remain and must "function very precisely," he said.

He said it is an "oddity" that having declared the need to demilitarize the Kaliningrad region as soon as possible, Lithuania suddenly suspends Russian transit through its territory.

Brazauskas said Lithuania should create uniform transit rules for all countries in the future.

Official on Russian Ties

WS2802205194 Tallinn BNS in English 1835 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Moscow, Feb 28, BNS—The problems in Russian-Lithuanian relations would cease to exist if Lithuania would reply to Russia's numerous proposals concerning military transit through Lithuania's territory as well as defining economic zone boundaries, Sergey Prikhodko, a high-ranking official at the Russian Foreign Ministry, said today in an interview to the Baltic News Service.

Commenting on Lithuanian Foreign Ministry notes on unsanctioned transit through Lithuanian territory of Russian armored troops and on Russia's exploitation of an oil field in the Baltic Sea near the Lithuanian resort Nida, Prikhodko said the Russian Foreign Ministry deals with them in the course of everyday work. "We shall go them over and a reply will be forthcoming," the Russian diplomat stated.

"Naturally collisions may occur," Prikhodko said, "and we shall provide exhaustive explanations for the concrete complaints Lithuania has made."

The Russian official maintained, however, that disagreements might not arise if Moscow received as soon as possible an answer to its proposals to conclude an agreement on military transit through Lithuania's territory to and from the Kaliningrad region that would "clearly and unambiguously fix the rights and obligations of both parties."

In a comment on the oil field issue, Prikhodko said Lithuania received long ago Russian proposals on delimiting economic zone boundaries, but there has been no reply.

Prikhodko noted that Russia has submitted a total of 24 draft agreements for consideration by Lithuania.

Minister Denies Ignoring Russian Proposals

LD2802212194 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] First Deputy Foreign Minister Vladislovas Domarkas described as rather strange the reproaches by Russian diplomats that Lithuania allegedly is ignoring proposals to define the economic zones of both countries in the Baltic Sea.

Sergey Prikhotko, head of the Baltic states department at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Second European Directorate—commenting on the note issued by Lithuania concerning Russia's intentions to exploit the B6 oil deposit, which is situated in the sea not far from Nida—said in an interview to the Baltic News Service [BNS] that Lithuania failed to respond to the proposals advanced by Russia on the demarcation of the economic zones.

Domarkas, who is head of the state commission for demarcation of the state borders, told BNS that it was Russia who was avoiding negotiations on demarcation of economic zones in the Baltic Sea. At the latest meeting held by the negotiators in Vilnius at the end of January, more attention was given to the problems of maritime borders. It was at that time that the Lithuanian negotiators presented a draft of maritime state border demarcation prepared by the Lithuanian land surveying service.

The next meeting of the Lithuanian and Russian commissions for the demarcation of the state borders will be held in March in Kaliningrad or Moscow.

Brazauskas Views Lithuanian-Polish Joint Treaty

LD2802161094 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas thinks that the jointly coordinated draft Lithuanian-Polish state treaty addresses the integrity of both states and the inviolability of state borders. The president said at a news conference today that the current mutual relations between both countries and prospects for future cooperation were adequately described in the draft treaty.

Answering a question of whether the property would be returned to the Polish public organizations which were active in the occupied Vilnius region in 1920-39, President Algirdas Brazauskas pointed out that this was not envisaged by the Lithuanian constitution.

According to the president, similar questions were raised by Jewish organizations in Israel. However, the two conditions envisaged for the reimbursement of private or state property say that persons claiming back their property must be citizens of Lithuania and reside permanently in Lithuania. If it is proved that these conditions are fulfilled then their property will be returned, regardless of their nationality, the president said.

Envoy on U.S. Visit, Political Experience

WS2802133094 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 18 Feb 94 No. 33 p 11

[Interview with Justas Paleckis, Lithuania's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary for special missions, by Zivile Kriauciuniene; place and date not given: "America Is Sharing Its Experience"]

[Excerpts] [Kriauciuniene] **The press and television has briefly reported about your visit to the United States. It would be interesting to learn about its goals and results in detail.**

[Paleckis] I went there at the invitation of the U.S. Information Service. This service, in cooperation with the State Department and other federal services, prepared a special program: To demonstrate how decisions on foreign policy issues are adopted in their country. [passage omitted]

The things that we saw could be summarized as follows: There, as well as in our country, foreign policy decisions are adopted by the president. Unlike us, however, no one imagines that he or she knows more than the president or feels human moods better. The American way of thinking is pragmatic and democratic: He who has won the elections has the right to decide.

It goes without saying that much attention was devoted to President B. Clinton's policy. He came to power with promises of focusing on domestic problems which, however, are not easy to resolve. Therefore, B. Clinton, like other presidents, immediately turned to foreign policy where effective results can be achieved more readily. Many political scientists with whom I ...st assess the president's foreign policy favorably, although he has not had any experience in this sphere until now.

This does not mean, however, that the president does whatever he wants. The National Security Council set up in 1948 coordinates decisions adopted by government offices and consults the president. I think that we also made a similar move when establishing a Coordinating Foreign Policy Council late last year.

[Kriauciuniene] **Can the things that you saw be applied in Lithuania?**

[Paleckis] We could learn something: How to adopt decisions, analyze different options, and predict the future considering the interests of the state.

Moreover, the Americans wanted to show us the role of public opinion in adopting foreign policy decisions. Public opinion is expressed there not only through the press, television, or the legislature (which is the case in our country) but also through trade unions and lobbyism. [passage omitted]

U.S. ethnic minorities also express their interests in foreign policy. We had several interesting conversations with representatives of the black population. Currently, they are being represented broadly in the Congress, the diplomatic corps, and federal government institutions. Their number in the State Department might be slightly smaller.

Observing this, one may think that the participation of our Polish, Russian, and other minorities in adopting various decisions, including foreign policy issues, is insufficient.

[Kriauciuniene]**So, the trip was interesting.**

[Paleckis] [passage omitted] One realizes particularly clearly during such trips that the world is so big, while Lithuania is so small. One understands that we often exaggerate the influence of our country, the three Baltic states, or even entire Central Europe on the world. In fact, this influence is not so large.

In general, one could feel that America would become slightly less active in foreign policy after the cold war. Certainly, it does not intend to return to isolation, as was the case between the wars. Everyone remembers how many victims the failure to prevent fascism required. However, the Americans do not want to interfere in events that do not concern them.

One professor explained to me why NATO did not want to admit Poland. In case of aggression, NATO would have to defend it and send young U.S. soldiers to death away from home. Public opinion, which is considered there so much, would not approve this.

True, in the opinion of H. Kissinger, former national security secretary and state adviser, it is now that Central European states should be admitted to NATO. It is quite often the case that an activist from the opposition tries to

express a different opinion from the official one because otherwise he would not be interesting to anyone, the more so that not being in power, he is not responsible for the effects.

Taking into account its economic interests, the United States is currently directing its glance toward the Pacific Ocean and the Asian region, particularly southeastern Asia. The economy decides politics.

[Kriauciuniene]Is the United States so little interested in Europe?

[Paleckis] It is interested in Europe as well. The key issue is Russia's problems. The rule of democracy and a free market in that country would protect the United States against many troubles, additional expenses, and the restoration of the cold war. Therefore, the Americans are determined to help Russia. I happened to hear the opinion that V. Zhirinovskiy is a considerable gift to B. Yeltsin because the Russian president can ask the West for more aid under V. Zhirinovskiy's threats.

While I was staying in the United States, B. Clinton returned from his trip to Europe. I was told at official federal offices that one of the key topics of his talks with President B. Yeltsin had been the issue of the Baltic states, particularly, the Army withdrawal from Latvia and Estonia. At the same time the United States wants the Baltic countries to apply international standards to ethnic minorities.

The United States is very much interested in good and constructive relations between Russia and the Baltic states. I happened to be in the Congress at the time when S. Talbott, assistant to the secretary of state, was making a report about ties with Russia and other CIS countries. He stressed repeatedly that assistance would be rendered to Russia only if the latter adhered to the norms of international law in its relations with other states—former USSR republics and Central European countries.

It would be an illusion to think that relations with Russia will not be a U.S. priority. The very fact that the uncontrolled and chaotic development of this big state would be fatally dangerous to Russia's neighbors and even the transatlantic superpower is responsible for such a U.S. attitude. Thus, I categorically disagree with those who suppose that instability in Russia is useful to us and enhances our security. Undoubtedly, we would like that stability to be democratic and in line with the norms of international law.

[Kriauciuniene]Did you meet with the Lithuanian-American community?

[Paleckis] First of all, I would like to say that I had useful and practical meetings with Alfonsas Eidintas, Lithuanian ambassador to the United States, in Washington and Anicetas Simutis, ambassador to the United Nations, in New York. I was happy to hear that representatives of federal government institutions in Washington were pleased with the work of our embassy and its employees' competence. It is common knowledge that the official Washington assessed former Ambassador Stays Lozoraitis positively. It is pleasant, therefore, that favorable words are also said about the new ambassador. A. Eidintas has appeared as very flexible in maintaining ties with our emigres and their organizations. He feels the Americans' moods well. [passage omitted]

[Kriauciuniene]Is the emigres' attitude toward Lithuania's current government changing?

[Paleckis] I could not draw any conclusions from these several meetings. Recalling the president's trip to the United States last fall, I can say, however, that very many emigres wanted to see and hear him in New York and Los Angeles. Maybe, A. Brazauskas was unacceptable to some of them as a personality. but he was shown respect as Lithuania's president.

Incidentally, A. Brazauskas read an annual report in the Seimas [parliament] last week, and some members of the opposition did not stand up demonstratively or clap symbolically on his entry. This shows the lack of our democratic culture because disrespect for the president means disregard for the state. [passage omitted]

[Kriauciuniene]Could you explain in conclusion what your rank—ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary—means? Most people imagine that one may be ambassador only in some other country.

[Paleckis] I go abroad quite often, and not only with the president but also on special missions, as this one. Last fall, I visited NATO headquarters in Brussels, as well as Oslo, Moscow, Bonn, and other places. The title of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary gives more weight and helps resolve certain problems.

[Kriauciuniene]Thank you for the interview.